

**Economic and social conflicts
concerning
subjective well being**

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Foreword

ZOLTÁN BUGOVICS

This volume is the summary of a basic research, which was carried out in 2013¹ and contains the main outcomes of the disclosure of the socio-economic conflicts. The central statement of the research goal in the area of *the social conflicts*, based on four subprojects², is that these influence the competitiveness of a country regarding both economic and social aspects. And with the disclosure of these conflicts a new model of competitiveness can be developed, based on a new complex approach for the creation of an inclusive, affluent society and for the strengthening of the cultural cohesion of the majority society. The studies of this volume are based on the analysis of a national representative survey questionnaire, which was carried out by the Institute of Social Research Táarki at the end of the year, in 2013.

Certainly, this study does not offer a complete conceptual framework for the representation of all four issues and examinations. However, it deals strictly with the analysis of the socio-economic inequalities, with the disclosure of the sources of the resulting conflicts and with the discussion of the consequences, based on the development of the index of subjective well-being. These can help eliminate or moderate the obstacles of the socio-economic development, caused by conflicts. This is one of the reasons why the emphasis of the social and economic subsystems and the analysis of the conflicts and factors of well-being in these subsystems are important. Thus, the first component of the research is the disclosure and identification of the inequalities, resulting from the two subsystems. Furthermore, it has been formulated, as one of the important principles, that the border between the social and economic conflicts is a rarely researched

¹ The study was supported by the operative program TÁMOP-4.2.2.A-11/1/KONV-2012-0069 *Social conflicts – social well-being and safety, competitiveness and social development*.

² Subproject I: Disclosure and mitigation of the conflicts of economic and social subsystems.
Subproject II: Development of a new competitiveness model, based on a complex approach.
Subproject III: Creation of the foundation of an inclusive, well-being society.
Subproject IV: Strengthening the cultural cohesion between the national and ethnical minorities and the majority society.

area. At this point it is important to emphasize how essential the Stiglitz-Report (2009) is, which interprets well-being, in contrast to the value of the GDP, in eight dimensions: material living conditions; health conditions; educational level; work; political participation and representation; social and individual relationships; environment; economic and physical safety.

For the examination of economic and social conflicts the following methods have been applied: within the theoretical framework, the related Hungarian and international literature has been summarized and within the framework of empirical examination, a representative national survey with 2000 persons has been carried out. For the exploration of the connections of social conflicts and safety, an additional examination of the subjective feeling of safety, based on comparative statistical data analysis, has been carried out.

The exploration of the connections between social conflicts and spatial inequalities is an important goal of the scientific research. The previous studies have revealed the effect of spatial differences in generating conflicts. The connections are, however, not unambiguous, since inequalities in Hungary today are far more severe than the resulting social conflicts and social conflicts appear not in the most disadvantaged regions, but in areas populated by people with a higher social status. Therefore, the research examines the problems of the spatial inequalities in that way that, contrary to the methods applied previously, it explores those other historical, social, economic and cultural (subcultural) dimensions, which are transmitted, overshadowed or even generated by the specific areas.

The volume can be divided, based on the logic of the research, on the following main structural elements: after a theoretical introduction there is a paper about well-being and socio-demographic relationships, after that there are two studies about the problems of areal-residential conflicts. Afterwards the topics labour market, income and cultural aspects will be explained, which are followed by in-depth analyses of private and social conflicts and the group of analyses will be completed, as a kind of specific topic, by a paper, which reflects on the feeling of safety. All studies are based on a common methodological guideline and these aspects were applied already at the editing the elements of the questionnaire. If talking about a common base in connection with conflicts and well-being, the use of a uniform index of subjective well-being should be emphasized, which was utilized at the writing of almost all of the studies. This subjective index of well-being considers, besides the satisfaction, the presence of positive

emotions and the lack of negative emotions as crucial. The framework in the category satisfaction is to be considered from the life of the individual, as a starting point, his/her residential environment or even his/her settlement up to the national economic, political and social processes. In the case of positive feelings there is also a broad spectrum on the basis of the measurements, as for example happiness, in connection to many things, such as in connection to life, work or family. And finally the lack of negative emotions is also a variable, which can be measured, since the lack of temper, sadness or depression and the lack of conflicts with neighbours or colleagues is also a valuable aspect. Besides, an index of residence and main component residence have been developed, which could be taken into consideration in the analyses at the level of settlements, the satisfaction with the residential area and the examinations of attachments.

Considering the whole structure of the studies a step-like system can be observed. After the formulation of the theoretical bases and background, the condition of well-being of the Hungarian society will be overviewed in an international comparison and the situation in 2013 will be emphasized.

The writing of Zoltán Csizmadia offers the reader, as a theoretical foundation, an insight into the topic with an impressive conflict theoretical background and serves as a kind of orientation. The aspects of the various conflict-theoretical and social conflict approaches are compared to the related guidelines of the scientific researches and in relation to the entries of encyclopaedias and the list of fields, which are published in scientific collections. As a whole, it can be pointed out that this is about a current subject area, especially if the topic list with 55 topics of the problem areas of conflict research will be taken as a basis. Conflicts are the inevitable consequences of the social being and development and at the same time they play a role in the mechanisms of the well-being as well. Our social conflicts can be divided from a constructive aspect in a subjective and in an objective approach, which create, as a matrix, the conceptual framework of the social problems.

The basis of this scientific approach is that social conflicts are brought into life and increased by the socio-economic inequalities, which can lead to the reduction of well-being. Considering all of these theoretical backgrounds, this examination analyses this issue along five contentual dimensions (demographic, private, work, residential and power-institutional).

The examination of correlation of well-being with the socio-demographic factors has proven that regarding men and women there is no significant difference regarding sense of well-being. The young people have the highest averages of well-being and this is decreasing with the advance of age, not linear, though, that is that the data show the lowest values in the case of persons in their fifties and above 70. However, from another aspect, not the pensioners but rather the unemployed can be characterized by the lowest value of the feeling of well-being. It can be observed along the educational level that the value of the index of subjective well-being is decreasing along low educational level and unskilled work. It could be proven as well that a good income situation improves well-being, whereas the deterioration of financial circumstances influences well-being negatively. It can be proven that satisfaction with the residence as well as feeling healthier improves the level of well-being significantly.

It can be claimed, synchronous with the previous statements, in connection to the private and social-relationship problems and a few characteristics of the arising conflicts, that material living conditions are determinant in the everyday conflicts and a higher social status mitigates the conflicts. It is interesting that most conflicts are linked to the working environment and to the partnerships and the most balanced relationships occur along friendly and family relations and as people need a support in solving conflicts they activate the same relationships. It has turned out from the survey that almost one quarter of the population was already confronted with negative attitudes towards life, like being ignored or despised. Those people, who have a lot of difficulties coping with their problems, can be characterized by a more complex conflict system and the lower the social segment is examined the more the superposition of challenges and conflicts and the deterioration of life expectations increases and accumulates.

The analysis comes to important objective and subjective findings along the demographic variables, like age groups, educational level and social status, residence and residential area. Considering the hierarchy of types of settlements, the dimensions of happiness, trust and satisfaction also appear as a difference and the reader can be confronted by differences, which can be measured between cities and villages. The most striking difference between city and village is the homelessness and the mildest difference is the increase of poverty, which is not necessarily a regional problem but can be considered as a social element, which can also have

regional projections. Considering relationships of trust, there is a weakening tendency along the hierarchy of settlements, since the extent of trust is decreasing from the cities with county rights, the small cities and to the villages, but this tendency breaks, since the least minimal level is in the capital. On the other hand, the level of happiness in the villages is the lowest.

The occurrence of social conflicts was an emphasized problem area of the examination. The primary goal of the examination in a study dealing with these issues is the effect of occurrence and perception of socio-economic inequalities in the narrow residential environment on the relationships of coexistence at the individual and the group level. An attempt will be made to explore the regularities of environmental determination of potential conflicts, paying special attention to the segregation in the place of residence and to the relations between the well-being and the settlement social conflicts. The conflicts are examined by dividing them into two large groups, such as conflicts of environmental character and conflicts of social structure character. For the former the quality and liveability of residential environments are examples and for the latter those groups are examples, which can be better characterised by conflicts in the settlement social structure. The analysis has concentrated on three basic problem fields and it has made an attempt to synthesize the connecting characteristics of them. The first problem field is the perception and assessment of residential environment, inside of which the satisfaction with the settlement and with the residential environment determine the frequency and intensity of conflicts. The analysis has shown a significant correlation between the occurrence of conflicts and the valuation of their seriousness and the indicators of satisfaction in the residential environment. The second problem field is the occurrence of general and specific problems in the residential environment, where during the examination a particular emphasis was placed on the primary environmental factor. The results show that elements, which determine the social status and the characteristics of settlement and living environment, play a key role in the perception and evaluation of problems. However, it could only be partially shown that along these two groups of factors such specific problem groups can be developed, which primarily characterize the given residential environments and social groups. Instead of this, it can be experienced that the examined factors primarily influence the extent of the problem sensitivity and some specific "thematic" (city resident, middle class...etc.) problem groups can be only

remotely identified. Finally, the third segment has concentrated on the occurrence, intensity and change of conflicts. In this case the existence of conflicts between the various social groups and the impact of the presence of possibly affected social groups and their segregation in the residential area on these conflicts was examined. Basically, it can be seen that whereas in the case of a lower social status the perception of conflicts based on "more obvious" factors (age, status in the labour market, financial situation) is stronger. In the case of persons under more favourable circumstances more abstract problems (such as political-institutional, areal, legal problems) occur at a relatively greater extent, which identification in their specific form is more difficult.

The research, connected tightly to the settlement and residential environment, compared attachments with the elements of well-being and conflicts from many aspects. With the examination of layered spatial categories (neighbourhood, settlement, surroundings, region, nation, Europe) an answer for the question, which patterns can be shown along attachment, satisfaction, happiness, trust and social relationships was searched. The strongest correlation could be observed between the social relationships and the attachments, be it in the relation of the categories settlement, nation or Europe. Neighbourhood, as a spatial category of attachment, has deviated from the streams of data and it could be explained by the question about conflicts that where the relationship with the neighbours was not burdened by conflicts the rate of attachment was high and it was otherwise low.

The results have shown that the factors of happiness, satisfaction and trust are creating a stronger attachment, but the significance cannot be proven in each case. The attachment to the different socio-spatial factors can generally be regarded as stable and the elements of well-being are strengthening the attachment.

The research of subjective feeling of safety is a multidisciplinary issue of the last fifty years and it is connected to criminology, sociology, psychology, political science and law. The Hungarian research of the last years paid a lot of attention to the spatial aspects of crime and committing a crime. Although, it is well known from the statistics that the number of crimes, which have increased since the political transformation, are still below the European average in Hungary and the country can be considered as moderately infected. However, the perception and the clear-sightedness of the people regarding crime are influenced significantly by other dimen-

sions as well. Subjective feeling of safety is an important aspect of conflict research, because it is about a perception, which penetrates the everyday life of citizens considerably. However, the subjective feeling of safety can differ in many areas from the research, which is based on the official statistics. Part of the citizens will not file a police report if they have been affected by minor criminal activity only, because they believe that it is unlikely that the criminal offender will be identified. Nevertheless, it is still worth to analyse the correlations between conflicts and crimes comparatively, considering county statistics as well.

The research is based on the representation of effects of major socio-demographic characteristics behind people's personal experiences and beliefs. It illustrates and exposes the situation of crime in Hungary, comparing it to the trends in the European Union and its correct or distorted judgement in the Hungarian society. The research compares the objective data of settlement related, national and county statistics of the last six years to the subjective opinion of the questioned individuals relating to their own community. It turns out that 45% of the Hungarian population believes the crime situation of their own community being better than reality. Especially the population of the capital tends to misconceive the situation, where a significant proportion of the questioned believes the crime situation of the capital being much better, than it actually is. In contrast to this is the population of the villages, where a large number of people draw a much worse picture about their community than the national average. This means that the placement of the own community in a reference system is significantly influenced by the type of settlement and the spatial location of the peer groups.

Also within this issue, the research attempts to conceptualize and operationalize factors, which influence the fear of crime, based on the current international literature. It is an interesting relationship that those conflicts and elements of well-being (related to settlement or health, mental, subjective, objective) presented as the main topics of this volume are among those dimensions, which determine the extent of fear of crime. It can in this case also be shown that the previously widespread opinion appears to be right, according to which the perception of a person, who experienced a crime or was informed about a crime by his/her immediate environment, will be much more negative, than the perception of those, who did not have such experiences. Besides that, the strongest relationship was proven between the judgement of the condition of the built environment and the

residential factors on the development of fear of crime. This confirms the effect and the applicability of the theories of broken windows, used by the conservative criminology.

According to the intention of the participants, the research with this volume has not been finished yet, but it has just been started. This is supported by the fact that further studies are being prepared, moreover a volume will be published soon, as part of a monograph, which also includes the data of this study. The research group will continue working and will carry out further analyses of the database and comparative studies, which will in the future result in a series of further publications and conference-presentations.

Theoretical Foundation of Social Conflict Research New Points of View and Fields of Research

CSIZMADIA ZOLTÁN

1. Introduction

Social conflicts of certain kind of levels and forms arising from social differences and inequalities and interweave deeply the everyday life. They (can) show in their form, manifestation and effects a close correlation to the social well-being (or to the lack of it). In spite of this, a more thorough examination of these questions, based also on theoretical and empirical work, cannot be considered as a systematic, coherent research program, neither in the national nor in the international sociological research.

This can be explained by at least three fundamental problems. Firstly, the term of social conflict is unexplained, plastic and has different interpretations, which makes it difficult working with it. Secondly, the conflict theory, as a fundamental sociological and social paradigm, has lost significantly from its function of inducing and guiding research, in the last three decades. Additionally, it has reached out its theoretical “arms” in form of mosaic-like, postmodern theories in a lot of directions, causing further difficulties on the level of empirical research. The third problem is that there are surprisingly only a few quantitative researches about the different forms, characteristics and effects of social conflicts on the level of individuals, households or the whole society.

The focus of a current research project is on conflicts, which arise from socio-economic inequalities and have an effect on social life. This question will be examined with a nationwide, representative, large sample survey (N = 2031 persons) in five conflict dimensions (conflicts in private life–social life, regional–place of residence, labour market–income, power–institution) on the level of the individual, group and the whole society. Therefore, it is a particularly important step to overview the above mentioned theoretical problems. The foundation of this process can be from our previously published research papers about this subject matter (Csizmadia 2007;

Csizmadia 2009). In these works, without claiming to be exhaustive, the following topics have been reviewed: the most important questions about the term social conflict, the different conceptual approaches (Boudon 1998; Collins 1974; Coser 1956; Cseh-Szombathy 1985; Turner 1982), the basic principles of conception method of conflict theory in the sociology, laid down by Dahrendorf (1959), possible forms and types of conflicts, the basic principles of classifying and the positive and negative functions of social conflicts. Based on these conclusions, in this paper the new developments, the new interpretations of conflicts and tendencies from the last decade will be summarised.

2. A few new basic points of the conflict-theoretical approaching method

The first problem is the immensely far-reaching, complex and often controversial characteristic of the term and the theoretical framework. Thus, it is worth starting the conceptual foundation with an overview of thematisation and placement of the concept on the meta-theoretical level by today's social theory.

Conflict theory used to be connected with Marxist and neo-Marxist theories, which appeared as a reaction to the functionalist and positivist theoretical traditions. On the contrary, in the paradigm system of today's social science this perspective can rather be described as a conceptual, theoretical network of much more complex, interconnected theoretical fields. An approach on conflict theoretical foundation is also applied by the followers of the critical theory, the feminist theory, the postmodern theory, the post-structuralist theory, the post-colonial theory, the world-systems theory, the queer theory – only to mention the largest theoretical fields.

A consequence of this is the problem that the paradigmatic baselines, which can be regarded as the common core of the conflict theoretical approach, have been significantly disarranged since the classical period and it can be very difficult to unite them as a uniform guiding principle. Only a few common points remained, which can be used as a kind of sound basis for empirical researches with such focus. Alan Sears (2008: 34-36) has pointed out the prominent role of the following common theoretical corner points as a pre-hypothesis in his study:

- The societies can be apprehended in the form of conflicts caused by inequalities and not as a guardian of order and consensus. Social inequalities lead inevitably to conflicts. Therefore, this can be regarded as the fundamental characteristics of social organizations, contrary to stability and harmony.
- Conflicts caused by inequalities can be solved by transformation of today's social relationships solely up to the bases. Thus, the new social relationships and interactions can be only developed by conflicts.
- The structural interest of social groups, which are currently at disadvantage, is to intervene against the ruling conditions, which is in this way one of the important driving forces of social changes and transformations. In this sense, those groups, which are suppressed, excluded and at a disadvantage have to be treated as active agents and not as passive subjects of sympathy and compassion.
- No talk about real social consensus is possible. As a matter of fact, the dominant groups are able to enforce and to make the majority accept their conceptions, interests, ideology and even discourses.
- A theory is not just a neutral tool of explanation or a sequence of thought to maintain and legitimate the current social establishment, but it has also critical characteristics and it is also an active component, which brings human potential to the fullest and move the society to change (to transfer) (Sears 2008: 34-36).

Thus, the key terms are inequalities, conflict, change, new social relations, active agent, suppression masked as consensus, critical attitudes... etc. A similar theoretical basic concept appears in the work of Sanderson (2007: 662). He makes a distinction between four fundamental presuppositions of the conflict theory:

- The conflict or fight is the essence and substantial component of social life because it develops among individuals and groups, which have different interests and/or competition with each other for the scarce resources.
- A lot of different kind of competitions and conflicts can be observed in our everyday life. Primarily, the power and the economic resources are the main sources of conflicts.
- A conflict appears typically as a few individuals or groups influence and control others.
- The dominant groups have a particular influence on the distribution of the resources and on the development/transformation of the structure of the whole society (Sanderson 2007: 662).

The presuppositions, which can be considered as a common base, demonstrate the fundamental relationship system behind the arising problems in this research: economic and social inequalities create social conflicts, which fundamentally influence everyday social interactions on the level of individuals, families, communities and larger groups and institutions as well. Therefore, the perception of inequalities and social conflicts and the examination of attitudes towards them have an important role because by this also the factors behind the present forms of social behaviour can be understood better.

3. The theoretical position of conflict theory and problem fields in conflict

In the last two decades, disintegration of a conflict theoretical approach or its integration and/or absorption in other theoretical approaches can be observed. The goal with this overview of a few new and crucial standard works is to show, according to the newest, relevant reference materials, how the question of social conflicts is thematised in professional discourses.

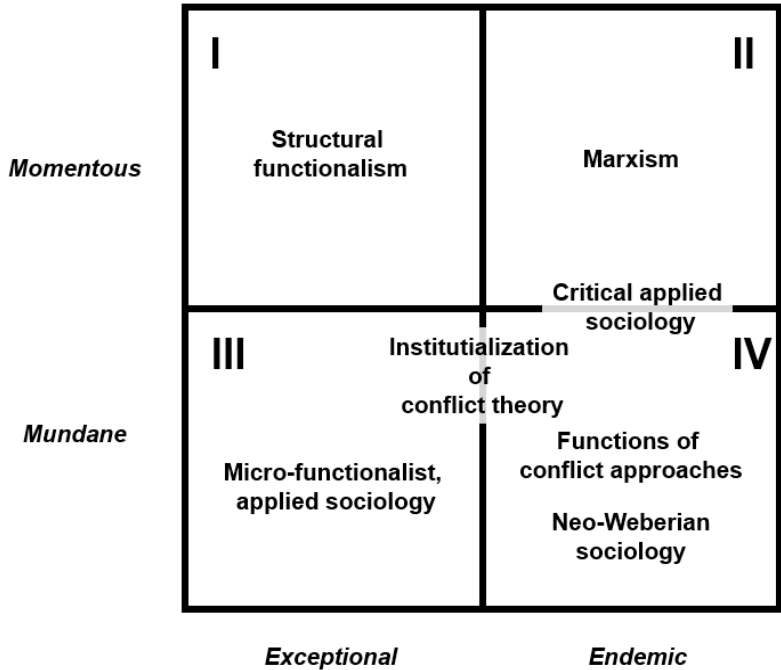
In the new encyclopaedia of social theory (Ritzer 2005) Jonathan H. Turner wrote the entry about conflict theory (Turner 2005: 134-139). Turner distinguishes three main classical fields of conflict theory. These fields are the Neo-Marxism, the Neo-Weberianism and the Historical Comparative field. These fields have, however, flourished in the seventies, based on their critical reflexions on the functional paradigm. According to his point of view, conflict theory became insomuch a part of the mainstream of social theory (mainstream theory) that there is no need to hang an extra label on this theory. This can be called even as dissolution by integration. In fact, as the central core or basis of the most theoretical fields, the position can be considered that social inequalities play a crucial role in understanding and analysis of the allocation of different resources. Also, the issues of social tensions and conflicts on the individual, group, institutional and communal level, arising from these social inequalities, are inevitable parts of theories these days. This new position is illustrated properly by the time interval of the referred literature of the entry, which is almost exclusively from the sixties and seventies. The list of the other entries in the encyclopaedia in connection with this topic, regarding the main connection points

is also remarkable: globalization, historical-comparative theory, power, revolution, social class, theory of social movements, state and world-system theory.

The comprehensive sociological interpretation of these problems can be found in the newest international encyclopaedia of social and behavioural sciences (Smelser – Baltes 2001) under the entry „conflict sociology“ (Crouch 2001). Also Crouch talks about the disintegration and disappearance of the labelled conflict sociology around the millennium. The interpretation of conflicts in western sociology has headed these days, according to his perception, towards regarding conflicts as a fundamental component of social relationships and not as a specific, particular aspect of social life. The more appear conflicts as normal and everyday incidents, the more will be pushed a specific theory, which focuses on them, into the background. This conclusion will also be confirmed by his classification of the fields of conflict theory (Crouch 2001: 2555).

According to Crouch there is a conflict on the most general level, if the interests of two or more social actors cannot be reconciled; this is the base of the conflict as a social relationship. However, on the theoretical level, these relationships can be decomposed into four larger dimensions with the use of two basic “variables”. A difference can be made between conflicts of considerable importance (momentous) and everyday, daily (mundane) conflicts, or they can be perceived as extraordinary (exceptional), occasionally or widely spread (endemic) conflicts. As a consequence of these, the theories, dealing with conflicts, have to make two fundamental choices. On the one hand, a decision has to be made about whether normal social life is burdened with conflicts or those conflicts are only exceptional, individual incidents, which arise from the inappropriate functioning of the society. Thus, the existence or even the lack of conflicts can be regarded as a pathological case? On the other hand, it also has to be considered, whether the occurring conflicts will be approached primarily as a momentous event of considerable importance or as a mundane incident, which is a part of everyday life. From this, a four-cell matrix can be drawn, which is a heuristic tool of visualization of the positions and focuses of the different fields (Figure 1).

Figure 1: System of the main conflict theoretical fields



Source: Crouch 2001: 2555.

These days the interpretation of conflicts has been shifted towards the corner of cell IV, which can be treated as the neo-Weberian sociological tradition. This became the dominant approach of the Western sociology regarding the theoretical understanding of meaning, forms, characteristics and effects of social conflicts.

The relevant entries of the encyclopaedia are expressive also in this case, regarding the hubs in which the issues of social conflicts emerge out of the network of professional clouds of the problems of social sciences: conflict management, social psychology of conflicts, conflict and war, archaeology and anthropological aspects of conflicts, conflict and consensus, organisational conflicts, psychology of cooperation and competition, ethnical conflicts, racial and gender differences, violence, sociology of war.

For an interpretation of conflicts within sociology, the best starting point can be the new Blackwell encyclopaedia (Ritzer 2007). In this approach, the comparison of the two main schools (neo-Marxism and neo-Weberianism) plays the main role. Additionally, the questions of conflicts

regarding stratification, class antagonism, crime, racial and ethnical conflicts, dependency theories and the critical theory will be presented in form of separate entries. According to Stephen K. Sanderson (the author of the entry), conflict theory is alive and it flourishes these days too. It is an important field of the modern sociology and many sociologist approach social questions within this framework (Sanderson 2007: 665).

To decide about how true this statement is, however, the questions of social conflicts have to be put in a broader perspective. Accordingly, it is worth overviewing in which areas of the sociology interpretation of conflicts plays a role these days and with which professional fields the study of conflicts can be combined.

4. The main research fields of social conflicts these days

For answering the question, the new sociological encyclopaedia, previously referred to, will be applied (Ritzer 2007). In this work, with more than 5000 pages, there are altogether 70 entries for the combination of words „social conflict“ and 1768 entries for the expression „conflict“. Thus, almost every third page on average has an occurrence. The purpose of the analysis of the content is to find out the topics, in connection with which the expression “conflict” appears and to detect the research areas of sociological examination of social conflicts, through this.

The first surprising thing is that there are only very few references in form of entries, in the work of 10 volumes, to the social conflicts. The expression “conflict” appears only in the titles of eight entries, as the encyclopaedia deals with the more important conflict-research fields, which are popular these days:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| - conflict theory | - class conflicts |
| - theory of crime and conflicts | - racial and ethnical conflicts |
| - family conflicts | - stratification: theories based on functionalism and conflicts |
| - inter-generation conflicts | |
| - world conflicts | |

On the contrary, considering the whole content of the encyclopaedia, a picture of a research field, which is indeed very wide-ranging, can be seen (Figure 1). After having overviewed the more than 1500 entries, the more important and relevant points have been highlighted. The disintegration

effect, previously introduced, which is the final integration of the aspects of conflicts in the social discourse, has already taken place. Therefore, it is in fact difficult to highlight a specific area (probably besides the theoretical line of research), which would require a separate labelling. The list below confirms the assumption that research of conflicts does not mean the analysis from the perspective of a specific theoretical and methodological school, but the conceptual and methodological emphasis of and distinguished interest on a social phenomenon and the resulting problems and furthermore the systematic research of appearance and role of conflicts in social organizations.

Table 1: The most important topics and questions of conflict research, these days

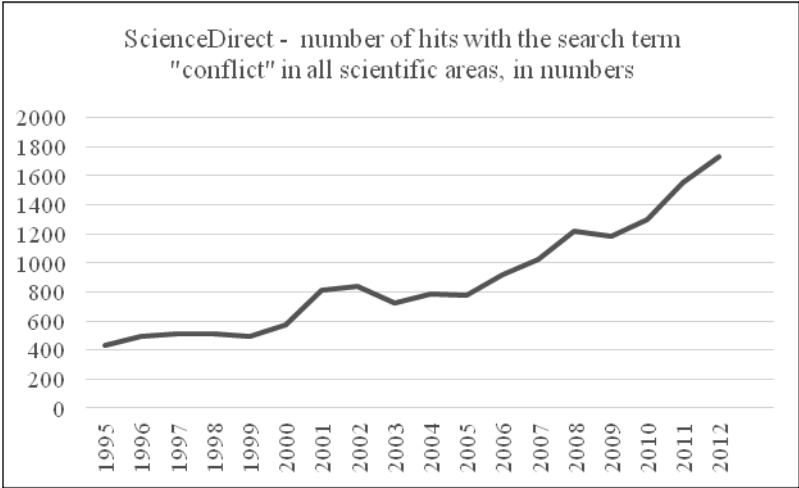
1. Absence – as a potential source of conflicts in the workplace and in organisations
2. Living conditions – an appropriate accommodation reduces conflicts
3. Aggression – conflicts within groups
4. Ageing – being at the mercy of sb./sth., conflicts resulting from dependency
5. Alliances, coalitions – reduction of conflicts between groups
6. Anti-Semitism – religious conflicts
7. Anti-war and peace movements – violence, armed conflicts
8. Assimilation – reduction of violent conflicts within groups
9. Benefit zone and victimized zone – particular social spaces: in the explanation of conflicts and the difficulty of consensus, areal and environmental conflicts
10. Multicultural and multilingual education – school conflicts
11. Bio-sociological theories – biological determination of conflicts, how the ecological environment affects the interaction patterns of conflicts between the actors
12. Capitalism – reducing trend of conflicts, increasing willingness to cooperate
13. Change management – running out of conflicts and possibilities of reconciliation
14. Protection of children – treatment of conflicts within the family, conflict between parents
15. Social classes – conflicts between classes, conflicting class interests, class-consciousness, class relations and power
16. A potentially conflict-laden characteristics of collective actions, identity, memory and trauma
17. Collective conflicts
18. Racial and ethnic conflicts
19. Crime and deviation – causes, reasons and consequences
20. Critical theory – conflicts between classes, political conflicts, conflicts of power
21. Environmental pollution – effects on everyday life, health damage

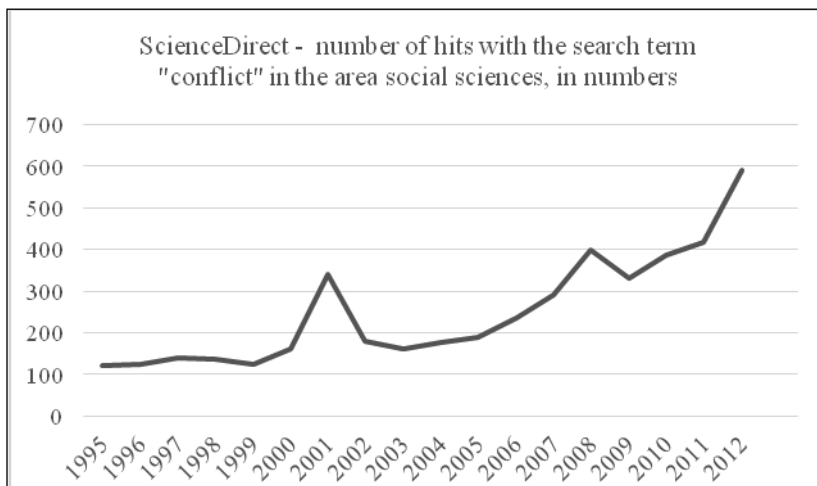
22. Deviant forms of behaviour, unlawful behaviours, causes and consequences of deviation
23. Problems, conflicts resulting from social division of labour
24. Diad / triad – the fundamental components of social relationships and mechanisms
25. Ecological problems – the relationship of environment and economy
26. Ethnical, minority conflicts, ethnical enclaves, ethnical groups
27. Migration, refugee problem, spatial mobility
28. Cultural conflicts, ethnocentrism
29. Conflicts within the family, new family models, family structure, division of labour, role conflicts
30. Feminist theories, movements
31. Gay and lesbian movements
32. Gender issue, gender inequalities and differences (gender bias)
33. Inter-generation conflicts, generation change, mobility, ageing, gerontology
34. Conflicts from globalisation
35. Education, training – reproduction of social inequalities
36. Relationship of social inequalities and conflicts
37. Genetic experiments and genetic engineering – as social problems and the accompanying conflicts
38. Group theories – in-group, out-groups, group cohesion
39. Crime: lack of sense of security, fear of crime, sense of danger
40. Leader-subordinate relationship, conflicts in workplace, sub- and superordinated relationships
41. Marginalisation, liminality, exclusion, barred persons and groups
42. Market – as the area of power and conflict, exclusiveness, monopoly
43. Media research – social role, function and effect of media, publicity
44. Organisational conflicts
45. Post-industrial society, postmodern conceptions of society
46. Mobilization, activation – social changes, protest, social movements
47. Racial, ethnical, minority consciousness – identity, minority politics
48. Theories of resource-mobilization
49. Hazard, risk – risks and damages generated by society and their effect
50. Role conflicts – Role theories (role taking)
51. Scapegoating
52. Social movements and networks – tensions, dissatisfaction, representation of interests, for/against inequalities, suppression...etc.
53. Transition – political transformation, economy in transition, transformation of political and social system
54. Urbanization – as the source and hotbed of social conflicts, city conflicts, suburbanization conflicts
55. Global conflicts, sociology of war, violence

Source: Ritzer 2007.

The more and more intensive embedment of conflict research in the mainstream of social science studies can also be easily followed in the dynamic growth of the published publications. According to the online catalogue of ScienceDirect (www.sciencedirect.com), the growth of the number of such kind of publications has been significant in the last two decades. While searching titles of publications, which contain the terms “conflict” or “social conflict”, the results are shocking. There are more than 11 million publications altogether in the database. For the search term “conflict” (in title, keyword or abstract) there were 22,259 hits in June 2013, considering all fields of science. From these 5,122 were published before 1994. This value is equivalent to 23 percent of all papers. Thus, three-quarter of the publications of the online catalogue were written in the last two decades. From all of the publications 6,314 (28%) belong to the area of the social sciences and a dynamic growth can be observed here, similar to the whole statistical series, which include all scientific areas (Figure 2). While at the beginning of the nineties, only 100-150 publications with such topics has been published every year, there were already 400 papers, on the average, each year in the last five years.

Figure 2: Appearance of the term “conflict” in title, key words or abstract





Source: www.sciencedirect.com – June 2013

However, in the case of the term „social conflict“ a radical decrease can be observed in the hits. There are altogether 327 publications in the ScienceDirect database with the term “social conflict” in the titles or in the abstract. This means 15-20 publications annually. According to the figures, it can also be seen, how sensitive the research area is, regarding fast interpretation of larger processes with global impact (see the extreme values of the years 2001 and 2008).

Thus, the statistical series clearly confirm that the research of social conflicts has not fallen into the background. Moreover, those assumptions according to which the problem field is basically integrated in the conceptual-theoretical and methodological-empirical practice of the research fields and approaches of the sociology and other social sciences are confirmed.

5. The conceptual framework of the social problem

The conflict based approach, focusing on the social conflicts, means in a broader sense, also a kind of problem sensitivity because of the larger emphasize on the social challenges. The manifestation of conflicts namely is the reason or the consequence of some social difficulties. As a result of the above mentioned the social problems behind or as a consequence of the conflicts can be considered as the broader subject of the examination.

A social problem can be defined probably in the most general way that it is a socially constructed condition, based on objective facts and subjective feelings, goes through individual and collective considerations, which jeopardizes and undermines the well-being and the expected or targeted quality of life of a few, more or even all members of the society. It can also be defined in form of appearance of specific, immediate damages and disadvantages or in form of narrowing down of chances, opportunities or choices (Macionis 2012). The interpretation of social problems, as a result of their constructed, often contradictory, characteristic, based on objective and subjective fundamentals can be illustrated in form of a complex matrix with four cells. According to the objective effect of the problems (how many people are truly affected) and the subjective judgement (feeling as being problematic), the social conditions and phenomena can be classified into four groups, from which three (A, B, C) are classified clearly as a kind of problem (Table 2).

Table 2: Types of social problems according to their constructional characteristic and effect

		Considered subjectively as a very serious problem	
		Yes	No
It causes serious damages to many people	Yes	A e.g. Suicide	B e.g. Use of car
	No	C e.g. Shooting in the school	D e.g. Using Ipod

Source: Macionis 2012. 5

Thus, problems occurring in our social life are social constructions, which depend on the scale of values and the knowledge level of that specific society. Furthermore, problems also depend on the knowledge of the objective effects, the manifestation of the subjective opinions and they can change, take form and cease to exist in course of time. The sociological approach of social problems is based on various, basic principles, which are clearly laid down (Macionis 2012: 7-8). The most important principles are that: 1) problems are always the consequences of the structure and functioning of a society and the consequence of this is that 2) problems are not caused by “bad people” and they cannot be simplified as the consequences of actions of bad, antisocial, weak...etc. people. 3) They are social constructions, since people are the ones, who qualify a condition as harm-

ful and as ready for change. Moreover, 4) there is no uniform, objective basis of the interpretation of problems, people see problems differently, therefore most of such kind of questions are accompanied by contradictions. 5) The definition and thematisation of problems also changes in the course of time, each age-group see the social problems differently. 6) The interpretation of problems is based not only on objective facts, but it also includes subjective values and interests. Moreover, 7) many – but fortunately not all – social problems cannot even be solved and in many cases 8) these are connected and interact with each other. These eight basic principles summarize practically the presuppositions and dilemmas in connection with researches in this field and the problems, which make empirical researches more difficult. Moreover, the list even makes it clear, why planning and starting, but especially comparing of such kind of quantitative, empirical researches is a serious methodological challenge.

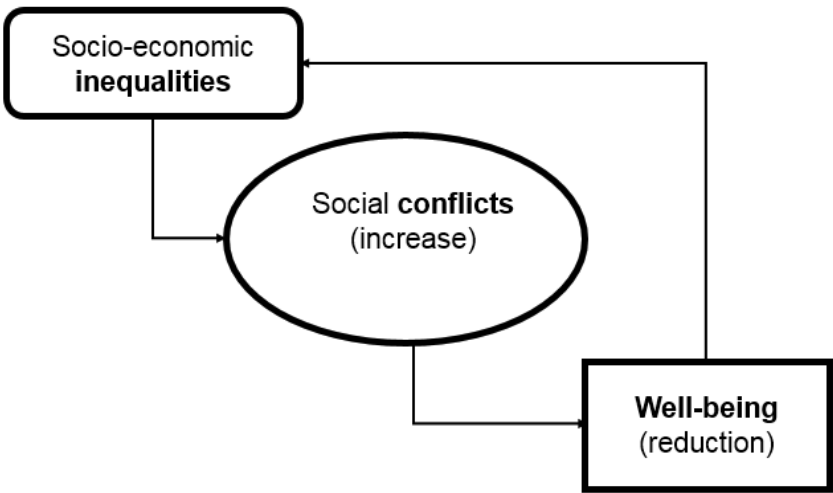
6. The logical structure of a possible conflict-research approach

After overviewing the conceptual-theoretical questions, the context system of a current quantitative, empirical conflict research and a conflict-typology, which was worked out in this research, will be represented. In this interpretation, the social conflicts are an organic part of the everyday social interactions, on the level of individuals, groups and social organisations and institutions. As a consequence of this, such kinds of approaches are not connected by a specific, theoretical aspect - this already became obsolete these days - but a contentual point of focus. The fundamental hypothesis is that those interpersonal and intraorganisational relations, which develop and function, as a consequence of the interest of the parties involved, on the basis of incompatible values, interests, information and resources, are specific types of social relationships. Conflicts are organic elements of the most social relations and organisations. They play a role in the development (causes), characteristics (forms) and effects (goals and consequences) of most social relationships and organisations. Furthermore, they influence at the same time the process of dynamisation, change and development and social disintegration.

In a broader context, social conflicts can also be considered as a central element of a larger theoretical system, in which on the one hand the so-

cio-economic inequalities can be considered in some cases as the background or cause of triggering of conflicts. On the other hand, the possible indicators of social well-being can be considered as ideal conditions to be achieved and to be maintained, which becomes more difficult as an effect of the social conflicts, increasing by these the inequalities (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Characteristics of the three main problem fields and relations of the empirical research



Source: Own collection

During the examination, primarily the various forms of social conflicts were emphasized, but actually, as a consequence of the logic above, the assessment of the inequalities and the social well-being was also carried out. As it was seen, how complex the research field of the social conflicts is, therefore their possible classification and the definition of the actually examined types is essential, as clear as possible. The classification of social conflicts has been solved according to two organizing principles. The most important dimensions of the problem field were firstly circumscribed from contentual aspect (five contentual dimensions) and secondly according to their scopes and primary measuring levels (dimension according to 3 measuring levels). From these actually 15 possible conflict fields arise (Table 3), from which certainly not all will be the object of this examination.

Table 3: Possible types of empirical examination of social conflicts

Contentual dimensions	Measuring level/ scope		
	<i>Individual micro-level</i>	<i>Group mezzo-level</i>	<i>Collective macro-level</i>
1. <i>Demographic</i>	concerning age-group, generation, gender, ethnics/minorities		
2. <i>Private-social</i>	concerning family, social life, personal relationships		
3. <i>Labour market</i>	concerning income, working, superior-subordinate relationships		
4. <i>Territorial-residential</i>	concerning residence, neighbourhood, region-area, urbanisation		
5. <i>Power-institutional</i>	concerning sub- or superordination, politics, decisionmaking, representation		

Sources: Own collection

There are only examples in the typologies, based in particular on the topics in focus of this research. Regarding scope, in the case of the emphasized social conflicts, certainly all three typologies can be effective, since e.g. conflicts in the working place can also have personal, familiar and organisational or even collective impacts. In spite of this, a certain logical shift can still be effective in the system, since going down in the contentual dimensions more and more a shift in the scope in the direction of group and community can be observed.

7. Summary

In this study, an attempt has been made to overview the newest developments of conflict theory and views of social sciences, based on conflicts, according to the international literature. Furthermore, to make a few questions clear regarding definitions, classifications and relations, which are essential for national, empirical research about this topic. The most important conclusion on the meta-theoretical research level is probably that the conflict theory as a sociological tendency has lost from its importance and it cannot be considered as a viable, independent orientation. However, the problem field of the social conflicts concerns the scientific public more and more. The conflicts weave through all segments, processes and mechanisms of our social life; they show fundamental relations with the

socio-economic inequalities and the dimensions of well-being. In order to make this problem field empirically understandable, this merging and integration process has to be followed and the presence and effect of conflicts has to be observed in different forms of the social relationships. However, this requires a complex typology. In this study, also regarding this, the possible theoretical solutions have been overviewed and a new classification method was recommended.

Correlation of Well-being with Socio-Demographic Factors

PÉTER RÓBERT

1. Introduction

Well-being is a category, which turns up more and more frequently at the assessment and the characterization or at the spatial and temporal comparison of societies. The spread of the concept was supported significantly by the report of the Stiglitz Commission (Stiglitz et. al., 2009, Stiglitz, 2010). Its largest merit is probably that it goes beyond the concept that economic development, measured mostly as the GDP (per capita), is the only criteria of well-being. Instead of this it recommends the consideration of more dimensions¹. According to the report, many *objective* indicators of *macro character* can be assigned to the dimensions, which can be measured on the whole level of the given society, country and economy.² This indicator system enables the assessment, the international comparison and the ranking of societies in many aspects. The most important feature of this study is that it does not approach well-being by objective indicators, but it creates and examines *subjective* well-being indicators, based on the data of a public-opinion poll research. This approach is in conformity with the position of the Stiglitz Commission, in so far as the authors – according to the previous literature of the topic, which is to a significant extent (socio) psychological literature – recommend and encourage the consideration of subjective factors during the measurement of well-being (Stiglitz et al., 2009 p. 15-16). Such factors are, among others, happiness, satisfaction with

¹ There are altogether eight dimensions: material living standards; health; education; personal activities including work; political voice and governance; social connections and relationships; environment; insecurity of economic as well as physical nature. Nussbaum and Sen emphasize, in fact, also very similar dimensions (1993) regarding the quality of life: financial situation, life expectancy, health condition and quality of health provisions, education, work, political and legal situation, family relationships.

² Without any claim to comprehensiveness: personal incomes; educational level; educational expenditures; mortality; unemployment rate; participation in elections; extent of corruption; civil participation; environmental expenditures; extent of crime, etc.

life, pleasure, pride and other positive emotions, or pain, fear, worry and other negative emotions, which people can feel in their everyday life. In fact, psychological measures and creation of indicators and scales concerning this matter and the relevant literature precede considerably the measurement and the examination of well-being in the society – but the presentation of these goes beyond the fundamentally sociological approach of this study.³ The psychological literature deals with general human emotions, whereas the sociological approach – also in this analysis – wants to know how general human emotions correlate with such individual socio-economic characteristics, which are fundamentally related to the dimensions emphasized by the Stiglitz Commission. These dimensions are educational level, financial situation, work, residential circumstances, health conditions, etc. This position is related to the classical statement of Stein Ringen, considered as relevant, which argues that in well-being societies from the perspective of the quality of life, it should be considered as very important how members of the society are influenced by their circumstances and life experiences (Ringen, 1995, p. 3).

First, there is an overview in this study of the literature related to the measuring of subjective well-being. After that, it represents a few measurement methods and indicators, which were created by the research team of Széchenyi University in Győr with the data of the survey *Economic and social conflicts* (2013), all within the framework of the project. After that there is a description of subjective well-being of the Hungarian society and in the chapter the indices above will be used. Besides, the two indices of well-being (satisfaction, happiness), which can be considered as fundamental, also appear in the international and temporal comparison and in the context of other indicators regarding the question of satisfaction with life and for the further widening of the comparison. Finally, the study will be concluded by a multivariate regression analysis, which examines the correlation between the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of individuals and well-being.

³ It is probably not an overstatement as Diener and his colleagues have already been talking for one and a half decades about the examination of subjective well-being, namely that it has a past of three decades and professional references go back to the sixties (Diener et al., 1999).

2. Examination of subjective well-being

2.1 Concept of subjective well-being

As it was mentioned previously, subjective well-being is an emotional orientation, which is closely related to the individuals and has in many aspects psychological bases (e.g. see Kahneman et. al. 1999). Even if this research cannot undertake the examination of such kind of determination, the question arises: How can such kinds of data become information and indicators, which characterize countries and societies? The short answer for this question can be found in the text of the Stiglitz report: „individuals are the best judges of their own conditions” (Stiglitz et al., 2009, p. 145).⁴ In fact, objective and subjective indicators of well-being are not that far from each other as it seemed at first. Many objective criteria, mentioned above, such as qualification, work, salary, specialties of residence, are characteristics (also) on the individual level, from which the macro level indicators will be created by *aggregation* on the national and social level. The same process takes place in the case of measuring the subjective well-being as well, as the individual satisfaction or happiness will be the indicator of the quality of the society (Kruger, 2009).

The journal *Social Indicators Research* has dealt with the examination of subjective well-being, in a special issue, in 2013. The introductory study of the paper overviews the topic both regarding weaknesses and strengths (Noll, 2013). According to the critics of the concept of subjective well-being, such information is too “soft” compared to the objective factors of well-being. Their reliability and validity is weaker, since the source of data is a public-opinion research, where there can be distortion and uncertainty both in taking of samples and in individual answers. The correlation between the objective and subjective indicators is sometimes surprisingly low: it happens quite often that the subjective well-being of people living under good living conditions is low and the subjective well-being of people living under bad living conditions is high. According to Noll, especially this occurrence makes the examination of subjective well-being interesting. Besides, considering strengths of this concept, its relevance to the public policy can be emphasized, according to which the influence of subjective judgements and opinions is significant (it can be even bigger

⁴ Similarly appropriate is another English phrasing: „perception is reality”, which expresses that not only is the well-being, wealth and happiness of somebody genuine, but it is also real, how satisfied and happy somebody is and how wealthy or healthy he/she feels himself/herself.

than that of the objective factors) in case of individual choices and decisions. Therefore, the examination of subjective well-being in the public policy plays an important role for many researchers (Diener, 2006, Dolan et. al., 2011, Deeming, 2013). Also, this fact can be the reason for the recommendation in the Stiglitz Report for the national statistical offices (Stiglitz et al., 2009, p. 58 and p. 151), that they should ask the people of the population in questionnaires about how they evaluate their life, what their subjective experiences are and what priorities they have in making decisions in various situations in their life.

The examination of the topic has significant domestic backgrounds but the previous Hungarian researches have used the concept of well-being less but rather the concept of quality of life (see Kopp, Kovács, 2006), which is probably a more widely spread terminology in Hungary. A reason for this can be that the previous domestic researches and measurements – among others, those of Rudolf Andorka – have followed such Scandinavian and German examples, which have also used the term quality of life (Allardt, 1978, Zapf, 1984). At the same time, any detailed elaboration of the conceptual differences would not help. The content behind the two labels is strongly overlapping, their common feature is that they both try to conceive instead of the quantitative characteristics the qualitative characteristics of life. Diener (2006, p. 401) see the difference that at the examination of the quality of life the objective circumstances are emphasized more, whereas the object of the research of well-being is rather the personal experience. This objective-subjective difference is possibly indicated furthermore by two widespread “measuring instruments”, which are used in international comparison, as well. The components of the *Human Development Index*, which can be connected to Amartya Sen as well, are the following: life expectancy at birth (a health indicator); knowledge and education, which are measured with the national data from the adult literacy measurements; and the quality of life, which is measured by the GDP per capita, calculated with purchasing power parity. Veenhoven (1996) uses at the same time the term subjective quality of life, where according to him the key term is the satisfaction with life: the satisfaction is the characteristic of the quality of life. The *World Happiness Report* (the editors of the publications are John Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey Sachs) goes even further and puts another ranking, *the national gross happiness*, with similar values and validity, based on a subjective ranking, to the one, based on national gross product.

In determining the subjective well-being, the main concern is put on the individual judgement of the quality of life, in particular – as it was mentioned before – at each person according to his/her own criteria. Own criteria mean at the same time that there are different factors and emphasis behind the well-being of different persons. The related researches therefore in many cases set different dimensions, life domains, as people are asked about, how they assess or judge their family relationships, financial situations, working conditions, health conditions, residence or home conditions. A topic of a separate examination could be, to what extent judgement of each area of life contributes to the sense of general well-being or happiness. It obviously differs from person to person, how important the satisfaction with their job, financial situation, family and social contacts, health conditions and residence is. Consequently, the correlation of perceived conflicts in each area of life with the well-being is different, as well. The more important an area of life (work, family, residence, etc.) is for somebody the more a conflict, occurring in that area, (can) reduce the well-being and the feeling of happiness. This is the so called bottom-up model, which assumes that the assessment of each area of life has an impact on the judgement of the entire life, e.g. satisfaction with the job, family and residence has an impact on the satisfaction with life. The opposite, top-down model claims, on the other hand, that the judgement of area of life has no impact on the general satisfaction (or happiness). The opposite is true: the generally satisfied person views the different areas of his/her life, work, family, residence, health condition as more favourable and he/she is more satisfied with them. Without examination of casual relationships between the different areas of life, the analysis of Spéder and his colleagues on the data of the Hungarian Household Panel, showed that in the nineties the satisfaction with the quality of life or with the income had been stable but low, whereas the satisfaction with work, residence, living environment and health conditions were characterized by deteriorating from a higher level (Spéder et. al., 1998).

The concept of well-being of this study is not that detailed, but – as it will be seen – it builds the applied indices of well-being from many specific questions and it considers both satisfaction and happiness, but it will not decompose these concepts on the various possible areas of life. One fundamental conceptual element is, on which the study is based, the psychological approach, where in the examination of well-being a distinction has to be made between a *cognitive* and an *affective* aspect (Diener, 1984).

Diener et. al, 1999). The cognitive aspect corresponds many times to the satisfaction and the affective aspect to the happiness, in the questionnaire examinations. All the assessments, the satisfaction and the emotional well-being can be positive and negative. According to all these, the distinction of the three aspects is of importance: the first is the satisfaction with life; the second is the positive feelings, emotions, as happiness, vitality and energy; the third is the lack of negative emotions, such as anger, sadness or depression (Argyle, 1996. Diener et. al., 2006). The study is based on these conceptions during the empirical examination of well-being and the creation of the indices of well-being.

2.2 Measurements of subjective well-being

The research group of the Széchenyi University has created *four* indices of well-being and these indices will be used in this chapter. The question can arise, why more measurements are needed, why the “best” indicator cannot be selected. On the one hand, the subjective well-being conceptionally sets various priorities. On the other hand, the problem of validity and reliability has arisen during the measurement of subjective indicators. If the results of the different measurements lay in one direction, there are no significant differences between them and this will enhance the validity and reliability of the results regarding the subjective well-being of the Hungarian society.

The first index of well-being was based essentially on questions related to happiness, but this was extended by a question about optimism and about the proper development of life. This is the narrowed index of well-being with 4 elements.⁵ The second index considered 3 more variables besides the 4 questions above: where would the questioned person place himself/herself on a scale with 0-10 grades according to his/her employment, financial conditions, education and abilities.⁶ The third and fourth indices were based on the introduced concept of Argyle and Diener, i.e. they were composed from three dimensions: satisfaction, positive emotions, lack of

⁵ The questions: All things concerned, how happy do you feel? How satisfied do you feel? (measured on a 0-10 grade scale) I am optimistic regarding the future. My life is going as I would like it to be (1=not at all, 5=completely). The variable, which was created by the main component analysis, is based on a sole unrotated factor, which eigenvalue is above 1 and this factor explains 71 percent of the deviations of the 4 factors.

⁶ This index was created again with a main component, so that it only has 1 unrotated factor and this factor explained 61 percent of the deviation of the 7 variables.

negative emotions.⁷ The correlations between the first pair of factors and the second pair of factors are high, their value is 0.7.

3. Subjective well-being: condition of the Hungarian society

3.1 International comparison, temporal changes

This subchapter in the first step examines the Hungarian society in an international comparison. For this the data of the European Social Survey (ESS) from the year 2012 are used.⁸ In the database there are the data of altogether 27 European countries, where the two questions, which are considered as the most frequent measurement of subjective well-being, were asked in a similar way.⁹ Figure 1 and 2 ranks the countries according to the average of the answers. The two figures show a similar picture, showing that the two questions, which are connected (also) with each other measure presumably indeed the same attitude.¹⁰ As a difference can be regarded probably that satisfaction is a “more rigorous” measurement, the endpoints of the 0-10 scale are between 8.6 and 4.3; whereas at happiness,

⁷ The content in the part of the questionnaire about positive feelings is altogether from four questions: agreement with those two mentioned statements, which are related to optimism and the way of life; classification of the residential area as pleasant in the assessment; positive answer to the question about happiness. The questions about the lack of negative feelings were the following: negation of fear from criminals; no feeling of being ignored in the society; he/she cannot be characterized by the lack of ability of finding his/her own way in the life; lack of acknowledgement is not present; feeling of being despised is not present. The extended version of the index contained also a question related to stressful work, (those, who did not work got all a favourable value without stress in this question). This element was not contained in the second, narrowed version in the index. The creation of the indices was carried out by the analysis of the main component, in both cases an unrotated factor was created, where the eigenvalue was above 1. This factor explained 56 percent of the variables (extended) or 57 percent (narrowed, less by 1 element).

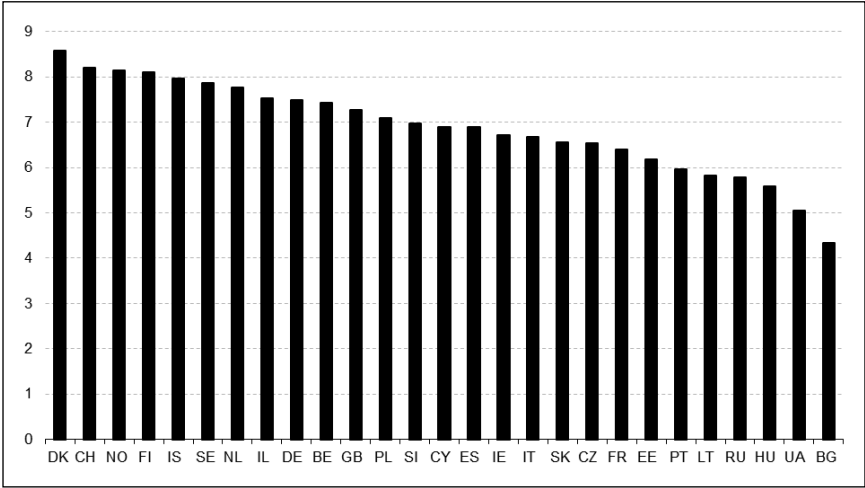
⁸ In international context these data are considered as „fresh”. The analysis of Vecernik and Mysikova (2014) about the data of the European Value Study (EVS) is extended until 2008. Hungary’s participation in the European Social Survey is supported by the Hungarian Science Foundation (OTKA Grant NN101921).

⁹ The one question is: All things concerned, how satisfied are you with your life as whole nowadays? The other question is: Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are? In case of both questions the answers are on a scale with 0-10 grades, where 0 means the valuation not at all and 10 means extremely. In the 27 countries, more than 50 thousand people answered these two questions; the persons, who answered, represented the population above 15 in these given countries.

¹⁰ The correlation between the two variables in the sample from the 27 countries was 0.717 in 2012.

with similar highest value, the lower endpoint lies higher, at 5.3 – that is the extent of dissatisfaction with life can be larger than that of unhappiness.

Figure 1: The average of the answers for the question how satisfied are you with your life in 27 European countries, in 2012.

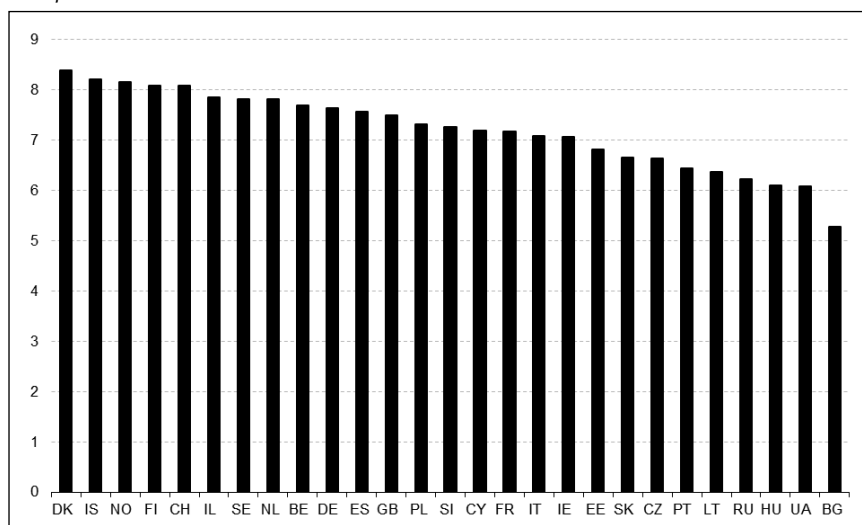


Source: The global database of the surveys of ESS 1-6

The extent of the subjective well-being is the highest, around a value of 8, in the Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Sweden), but this high value was characteristic also for Switzerland or the Netherlands. At the other endpoint of the scale, with a value of 6 or below it, were the former socialist societies (Baltic States, Russia, Hungary, Ukraine and Bulgaria). Hungary is exactly the third from the end in both rankings. Portugal is also around the end of the ranking, whereas among the former socialist countries the situation of Poland and Slovenia is the best, these countries are mid-table in the ranking.¹¹

¹¹ It is worth mentioning, that Lelkes (2005) claimed that Hungary, Slovenia and Poland were still the happier part of Eastern-Europe around the 1990s, which was characteristically different from other Eastern European countries or from the former Soviet Union (CIS). According to this, it has been changed in the last one and a half decades since then.

Figure 2: The average of the answers for the questions how happy do you feel in 27 European countries, in 2012



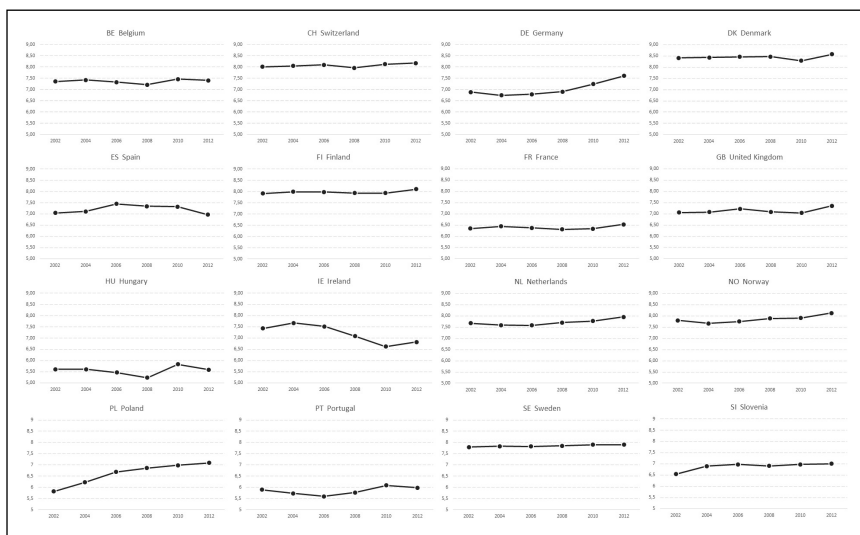
Source: The global database of the surveys of ESS 1-6

The ESS data make the examination of temporal changes possible as well – within some limits. On the one hand, the foregoing 6 surveys (2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012) covered a relatively short time period, the last 10 years. On the other hand, much less countries participated in all ESS surveys. If the comparison is, let it be said, narrowed to the former socialist countries, than the comparison is possible with the two “not typical” countries (Poland and Slovenia) only. Because of the similarity of the two ESS measurements, Figure 3 contains the answers for the question about satisfaction with life only.

Comparing the level of subjective well-being to the two formerly socialist countries, the Polish society was similar to the Hungarian conditions in 2002. However, the satisfaction with life has continuously increased among the population in Poland. The trend was increasing also in Slovenia, at a smaller extent as to Poland, though, and the average was higher during the whole examined period. In Hungary the level of subjective well-being (as the satisfaction with life) had been deteriorated between 2002 und 2008. A value relatively standing out had appeared in 2010, but this value (5.83) is still lower than the Polish and Slovenian values by 1 grade. In comparison with this, the indicator had been deteriorated up to 2012 again,

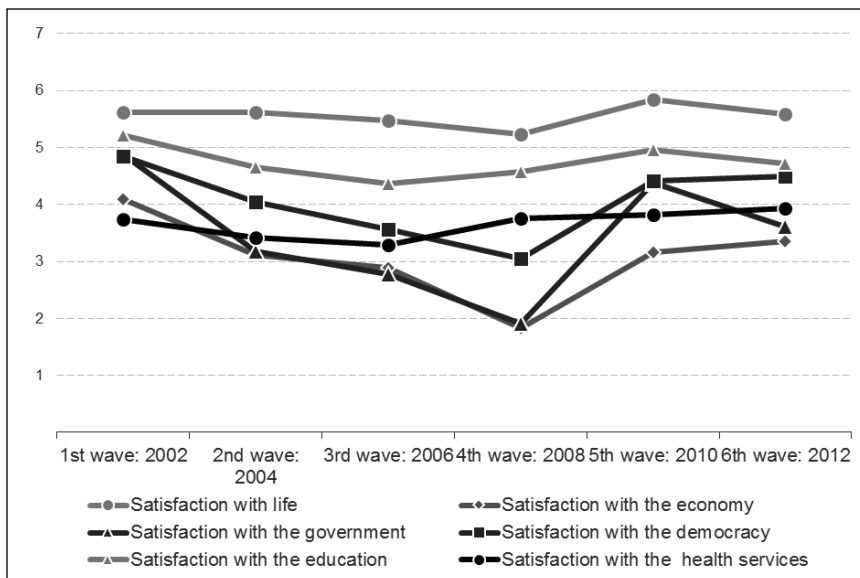
it was still higher than in the 2000s, though. It is worth mentioning that in Hungary all indicators of satisfaction were outstandingly good in 2010, as shown in Figure 4, which was also calculated from the ESS data. It is important to know regarding this that the ESS survey from the year 2010 had been made in autumn of that year, a few months after the parliamentary elections, in which the political party Fidesz had a victory and won two thirds of the parliamentary seats. At that time, after the ruling of the party MSZP for two legislative periods, there was a specific (political) emotional-sentimental atmosphere (Messing et. al., 2013). It is not surprising that after the elections, between 2008 and 2010, mostly the satisfaction with the democracy and the government has been improved. According to the data of ESS, the satisfaction with life was otherwise in Hungary higher each year than the other indicators of satisfaction.

Figure 3: *The change of the average values of the answers for the question “How satisfied are you with your life?” in 16 European countries between 2002 and 2012.*



Source: The global database of the surveys of ESS 1-6, own calculation

Figure 4: Change of average values of indices of satisfaction in Hungary between 2002 and 2012



Source: *The global database of the surveys of ESS 1-6, Messing et al. 2013*

Regarding the other countries in Figure 3, it does not make much sense to compare Hungary with the Scandinavian countries and not even with the market economies in the middle of the rank order. In these countries the subjective well-being was always higher, than in Hungary and had not shown any temporal fluctuation. Ireland and Portugal could probably be a basis for comparison, where there were, similar to the Hungarian situation, more fluctuations. In Ireland, the satisfaction with life has been significantly reduced between 2004 and 2010 and this trend has changed in 2012. The subjective well-being is in Portugal similarly low as in Hungary, but the tendency as a whole is slightly improving. The situation in each country and at each time was slightly better than in Hungary.

3.2 The Hungarian situation in 2013

There are more current data available about satisfaction with life and happiness for Hungary, based on the representative survey made within the project in 2013. In case of satisfaction the average was in 2012 (5.59) and in 2013 (6.1) a little higher, the difference is approximately half a grade. This average would place Hungary of ESS between Estonia and Portugal in the satis-

faction ranking. In the case of happiness, the average in 2013 (6.84) was also better than in 2012 (6.1), the difference was more than half a grade. Hungary would be placed higher with this data in the happiness ranking of ESS, between Ireland and Estonia. However, it can be noticed that the condition of subjective well-being in Hungary is low even according to these data.¹²

The more detailed examination of the four indices of well-being, which were created according to the database from 2013, had taken place along a few socio-demographic variables: education, income, residence and region, age and occupation. The picture on subjective well-being, based on the four indices, is largely homogenous with similar break points.¹³ In Figure 5, there is a higher well-being related to a university degree, but the values are positive in case of a secondary school qualification, as well. With only a vocational training the well-being turned into negative and this trend became stronger in case of only a primary school education. In case of a household income per capita, a higher (positive) subjective well-being belongs to the values above average and in case of a below average income the various indices has negative values.

Regarding residence, both the type of settlement and the regional location are of interest. First of all, a larger settlement does not necessarily mean a higher well-being. The subjective well-being seems to be generally the highest in case of city residents.¹⁴ In the case of Budapest, the values of the indices were close to the average. However, the well-being in the cities with county rights and in the villages the well-being was low and negative. Apart from Budapest, the regional deviation behind each type of settlement was certainly substantial. Considering the 7 regions, Hungary is almost split in two: the subjective well-being is high (positive) in Central Hungary, in Central Transdanubia and in West Transdanubia, but it is very low (negative) in South Transdanubia and in North Transdanubia and it is low, but to a smaller extent, in North Lowland and in South Lowland.

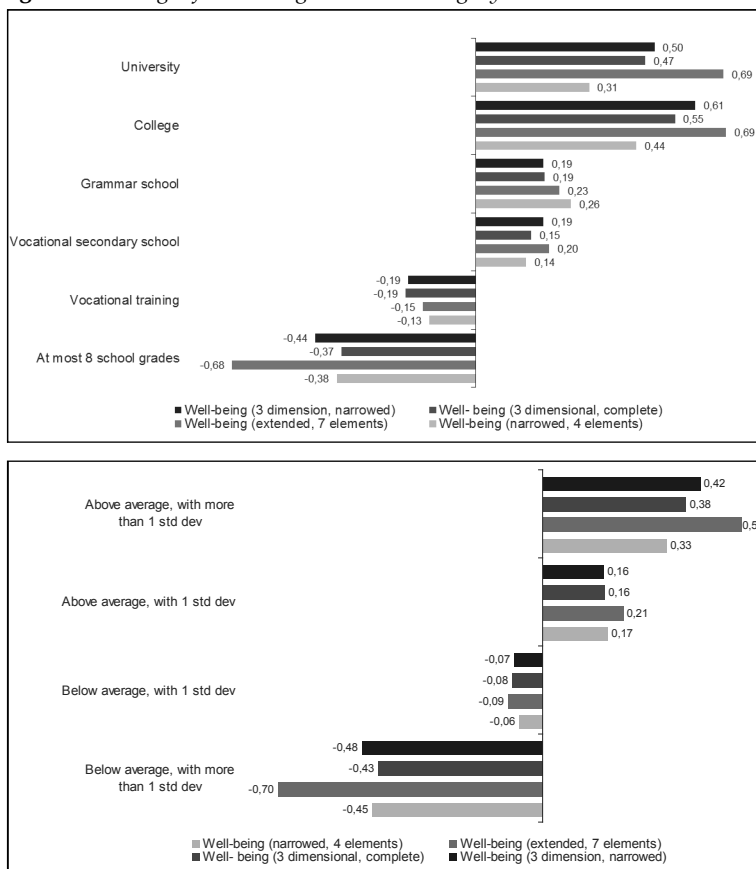
¹² Both surveys in 2012 and 2013 were carried out on national representative sample by TÁRKI in a similar way. The difference is that in the case of the ESS survey the minimum age in the sample was 15 years and in the case of the TÁMOP survey it was 18 years.

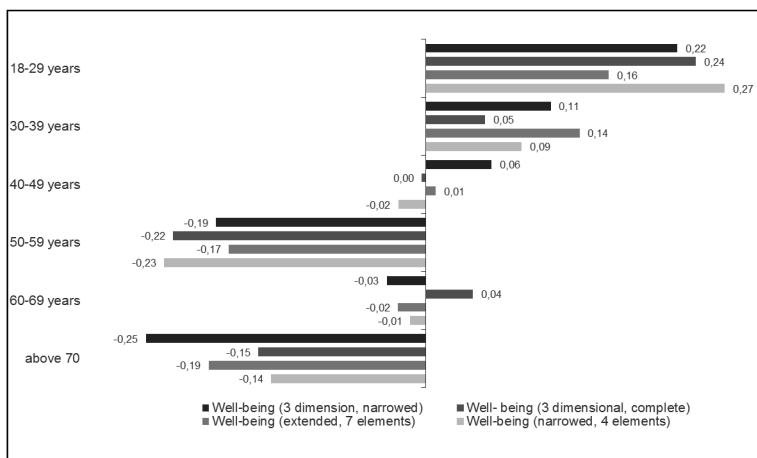
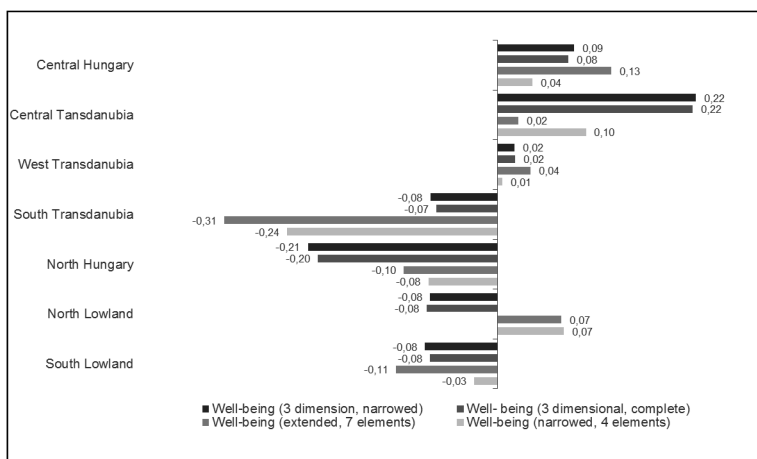
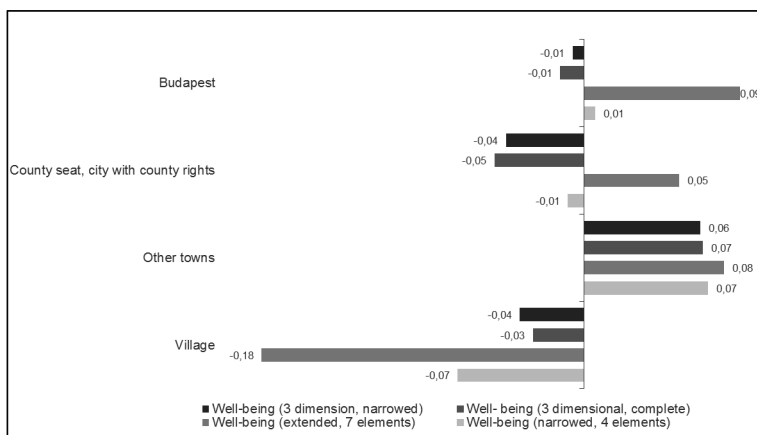
¹³ Since the indices were created, as it was already mentioned before, by factor analysis, their average was 0, their standard deviation was 1, the higher negative values mean a lower level of subjective well-being and the higher positive values mean a higher level of subjective well-being.

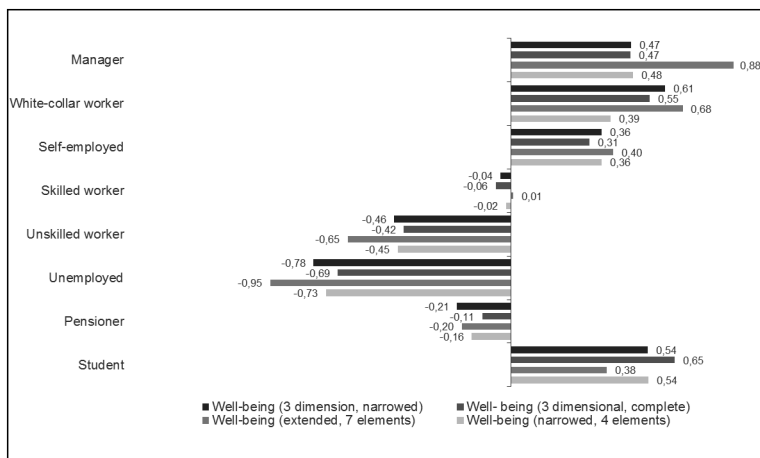
¹⁴ An exception is the index of well-being, which includes 7 variables and contains subjective classifications about individual occupation, educational level and financial situation. It seems that these factors are more favourable among people, who live in larger settlements. This index differentiates more also along other background variables, such as school, occupation or income, and its extreme values are higher.

The picture of the age groups is characteristic. The condition of the young people is more favourable, but it is deteriorating as they become middle-aged. The well-being is strongly unfavourable among people in the age groups 50-59 and above 70. It is interesting that the well-being of people between 60-69 years is just slightly above average. That means that the correlation between the decline of subjective well-being and ageing is not linear. The age difference is reflected by the high well-being of students and by the worse conditions of pensioners. The worst values of the well-being indices are for the unemployed people, but the situation of unskilled workers is not better either. The well-being of skilled workers is on the average; that of the entrepreneurs is, however, above the average. The well-being of managers and professionals is even higher.

Figure 5: Average of well-being indices in Hungary in 2013







Source: Database of the survey "Economic and social conflicts"

4. The socio-demographic background of subjective well-being

In the last part of the study, the correlation between the subjective well-being and the socio-demographic factors is examined with the method of the multivariate analysis. The application of such a statistic model fits into that conceptual framework, which examines the relationship between the socio-demographic situation and the related experience, i.e. the well-being. In this context, the most known research issue is whether or not the increase of the income advantages will cause a similar increase in the favourable assessment of the living conditions, well-being or happiness (c.f. Easterlin paradox – Easterlin, 1973. 1995). At the same time, according to Veenhoven (1989), who identifies well-being primarily with a feeling related to happiness, there is a provable correlation between the wealth on national level and the individual happiness. More recent data and analyses have also confirmed this positive correlation between, on the one hand the economy, the economic growth and the happiness (Deaton, 2008) and on the other hand, the satisfaction with life (Diener et. al., 2013). The last part of the study examined essentially at which extent in Hungary the individual, familiar economic situation and the financial living circumstances correlate with well-being.¹⁵ For this, some other sociological and de-

¹⁵ Richard Layard also deals with the mentioned dilemma between wealth, becoming wealthy on the one hand and happiness on the other hand, which is not increasing proportionally to those, whose book can be read also in Hungarian (Layard, 2005).

mographical factors, such as educational level, occupation, age, residence, health conditions, etc. are taken into consideration, which are not independent from the financial situation; that means they *correlate to each other*.

In the model, the dependent variables are the subjective well-being, which means the four well-being indices, introduced above. The explanatory variables are the social and demographic criteria, which characterize the questioned person (and his/her household) and a few questions about opinions and attitudes. The statistic model examines the connection between the subjective well-being and the explanatory variables in three steps. The first model contains the demographic characteristics. These are the gender, age, family structure for the respondent and the place of the residence¹⁶. The second model adds the sociological characteristics of the person (household) to the former, such as education, occupation, income and various factors of the financial situation.¹⁷ Finally, in the third model there are three more factors: satisfaction with the residence, judgement of the health condition and belonging to a denomination.¹⁸

¹⁶ The code of gender is: male=1, female=0. Measurement of age: age + age squared. One factor of the composition of the family is the size of the family, measured by two dichotomous variables: household with 1 person=1, other=0; 6 persons or more=1, other=0; reference: household with 2-5 persons; the other factor is the number of children, which is measured also with two dichotomous variables: no children=1, other=0; 3 and more children=1, other=0; reference point= 1-2 children. In case of residence the usual 7 regions are separated by 6 dichotomous variables and the reference is: Central-Hungary.

¹⁷ Measurements of educational level with an ordinal scale with 6 grades: 1=at most 8 school grades, 2=vocational training, 3= vocational secondary school, technical school, 4=grammar school, 5=college, 6=university. Occupation is characterised in the model by three dichotomous variables: unemployed=1, other=0; self-employed=1, other=0; upper or middle management=1, other=0. The income is the household income per capita (the missing data have been replaced). One of the factors of the financial situation is the number of durable goods measured on a 0-13 grade scale; the other is the number of saving methods, on a 0-5 grade scale; the third is the number of debts, on a 0-3 grade scale; and finally a four grade scale related to the payment of the utility costs, which is from the case, that they do not have any problems with the payment, until the case of the inability to pay the utilities. (The exact questions about the financial situation and the list of the durable goods and the saving and debt forms are in the questionnaire.)

¹⁸ The satisfaction with residence is a factor developed by analysis of main component, which elements are the satisfaction with the residential environment and with the settlement, both measured on a 0-10 grade scale. Health condition is measured by a 7 grade scale, based on the common distribution of answers for the following two questions: How is your general health condition? 5=very good, 1=very bad; Are you hindered in your everyday activity by any kind of long-lasting illness, invalidity, bad health condition or mental problem? 1= very much, 2= to some extent, 3=no. Religiosity is a dichotomous variable, where the value of belonging to a religion or denomination is 1, otherwise 0.

The results of the regression model are in Table 1 and Table 2. Table 1 contains regression estimations for the first two indices of well-being and Table 2 for the second two (three dimensional) well-being indices.

Table 1: Correlations between subjective well-being indices and socio-demographic variables

	Narrowed well-being (4 elements)			Extended well-being (7 elements)		
Explanatory variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender (male=1)	-0.018	-0.032	-0.042	0.022	0.031	0.026
Age	-0.006***	-0.008***	-0.002	-0.005**	-0.006***	-0.001
Age squared	0.081***	0.083***	0.070***	0.026	0.051**	0.041*
No children (=1)	-0.094	-0.154**	-0.108*	-0.049	-0.137**	-0.104*
More (3+) children	-0.329*	-0.040	-0.048	-0.309*	-0.008	-0.015
One person household	-0.236**	-0.093	-0.122+	-0.292***	-0.115+	-0.140*
Large (6+) household	-0.071	0.119	0.087	-0.270+	0.001	-0.043
R: Central Transdanubia	0.036	0.152*	0.127+	-0.116	0.080	0.060
R: West Transdanubia	-0.085	0.015	-0.007	-0.170+	0.031	-0.002
R: South Transdanubia	-0.333***	-0.030	-0.036	-0.511***	-0.059	-0.059
R: North Hungary	-0.125	0.165*	0.176*	-0.236**	0.140*	0.147**
R: North Lowland	0.024	0.403***	0.356***	-0.074	0.410***	0.366***
R: South Lowland	-0.132+	0.143*	0.113+	-0.290***	0.094	0.077
Educational level		0.031+	0.021		0.114***	0.107***
Unemployed (=1)		-0.372***	-0.374***		-0.494***	-0.491***
Self-employed (=1)		0.165*	0.167*		0.132+	0.131+
In manager position (=1)		0.139	0.158		0.294*	0.319**
Income per capita		0.001*	0.001+		0.002***	0.002***
Material goods		0.045***	0.037***		0.061***	0.054***
Number of savings		0.052**	0.044*		0.044*	0.036*
Number of debts		-0.105***	-0.096**		-0.109***	-0.099***
Problem with paying the utilities		-0.423***	-0.365***		-0.392***	-0.345***

	Narrowed well-being (4 elements)			Extended well-being (7 elements)		
Satisfaction with residence			0.167***			0.136***
Health condition			0.133***			0.110***
Religiosity			0.086*			0.115**
Constant	0.414***	0.645***	-0.357*	0.469***	0.152	-0.692***
Adjusted R-square	0.035	0.300	0.353	0.047	0.434	0.472

Significant: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Reference: 1-2 children; families with 2-5 persons; Central Hungary; not unemployed; not self-employed; not a manager; not religious

Source: Database of the survey "Economic and social conflicts"(2013), own calculation

According to the model, there is no significant difference between men and women in perception of well-being, be it the narrowed or the extended measurement. According to the bivariate analysis of age groups (Figure 5), the deficit of well-being occurs primarily at persons in the age groups 50-59 and above 70, which means that the effect of the age is not linear. Therefore the model contains the age in quadratic term, too. The negative effect of the age and the positive effect of its square confirmed in fact the U-shape correlation: well-being is reduced with ageing, but not evenly. This effect appears better, as the narrower version of well-being is examined. Regarding the family structure, the analysis shows that well-being is influenced negatively by childlessness and if somebody has a one person family. In families with more than three children, the extent of subjective well-being is also lower, but this effect is statistically not significant – by controlling of other variables. Regarding the regional differences the previous picture will be modified according to the multivariate model (Figure 5), that is, it comes into sight that the regional differences are caused partly by the social composition of the regions. Compared to Central Hungary, which was regarded as a basis of comparison, the extent of well-being was according to model 1 in South Transdanubia less favourable and significantly negative impacts has arisen in case of South Lowland and North Hungary at the estimation of the extended wealth, where the index contained the "self classification" of occupation, financial situation and education. After including further objective and subjective sociological criteria, model 2 and 3 already shows that the regions North Hungary and North Lowland, which are less favourable regarding education, work and

income, and is in a *relatively* better position than Central Hungary, the effects will be positive.

It was obvious in the bivariate analysis (Figure 5) from the sociological criteria in model 2 that a higher education level increases the extent of subjective well-being, which shows a significant increase from primary school qualification until university degree. In the multivariate analysis the effect of education in that model is significant, which is related to the extended version, since there also subjective status criteria are part of the measuring. In the case of measuring of the narrowed well-being, the positive effect of the school is only at a level of 1 percent significant and it is in the last model no longer significant. In the case of employment, the unemployment reduces the well-being significantly in the case of any measurement, also in the case of the multivariate analysis, similar to the bivariate analysis. Regarding occupation the well-being of unskilled workers is the lowest (Figure 5), but this effect is not indicated in the regression model, since (low) education measures essentially the same and it is appropriate not to further increase the multicollinearity between the explanatory variables. However, there are two factors in the analysis, which correlate less with the education. The occupation as a self-employed entrepreneur influences the extent of well-being significantly, especially in the case of the narrowed measurement. The situation is just the opposite in the case of being in managerial position. The variable related to this improves the grade of extended wealth significantly (where there are also subjective status elements), but its effect is not significant in case of the narrowed well-being.

Considering financial situation, a higher per capita household income, a larger number of consumer durable goods and many kinds of savings increases well-being significantly. On the other hand, well-being is reduced by more debts and by the difficulty of paying overhead costs. The effect of the income is, similar to that of the educational level, stronger in the model for measuring of the extended well-being. In the case of the narrowed well-being, the income in the last model is only on a level of 1 percent significant. As a whole, the effect of the financial living conditions can be regarded as strong, especially considering that the model includes the educational level and some occupational characteristics, e.g. unemployment, which means a bad financial situation, or a manager position, which means a good financial situation.

Model 3 finally shows that well-being is increased, if somebody is more satisfied with him/her residence, where he/she lives. Well-being is also

positively influenced if somebody thinks that he/she is healthy and does not suffer from such illness, which would hinder him/her in his/her everyday life. Finally, those, who classify themselves as religious also have better values in the well-being factors.

It can be seen in Table 2 that the patterns of estimations related to indices, which are based on the three dimensional conception of subjective well-being (satisfaction, positive emotions, lack of negative emotions), are very similar. Here no gender differences can be seen either. The nonlinear effect of the age is also present and childlessness and living in a one person household also reduces the well-being, measured in this way. The regional differences are modified by the combination effects, educational level and occupation. The model indicates the highest relative well-being in the North Hungary region, which is, regarding the financial situation, probably the least favourable region.

Table 2: Correlation of subjective well-being indices and socio-demographic variables

Explanatory variables	Subjective well-being (3 dimensions)			Subjective well-being 2 (3 dimensions)		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender (male=1)	0.033	0.028	0.026	0.042	0.038	0.034
Age	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.002	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.003+
Age squared	0.071***	0.087***	0.071***	0.029	0.049*	0.034+
No children (=1)	-0.083	-0.141**	-0.103*	-0.083	-0.144**	-0.105*
More (3+) children	-0.294*	0.003	0.006	-0.341*	-0.050	-0.049
One person household	-0.242***	-0.091	-0.119+	-0.244***	-0.091	-0.119+
Large (6+) household	-0.204	0.002	-0.026	-0.227	-0.011	-0.040
R: Central Transdanubia	0.148+	0.283***	0.258***	0.138+	0.283***	0.258***
R: West Transdanubia	-0.097	0.022	-0.006	-0.105	0.027	0.001
R: South Transdanubia	-0.179*	0.155*	0.159*	-0.192*	0.158*	0.161*
R: North Hungary	-0.257***	0.059	0.071	-0.268***	0.077	0.087
R: North Lowland	-0.155*	0.232***	0.191***	-0.153*	0.247***	0.205***
R: South Lowland	-0.162*	0.133+	0.109	-0.170*	0.144*	0.118+
Educational level		0.054***	0.048***		0.064***	0.057***
Unemployed (=1)		-0.267***	-0.264***		-0.396***	-0.393***

	Subjective well-being (3 dimensions)			Subjective well-being 2 (3 dimensions)		
Self-employed (=1)		0.111	0.113		0.135*	0.137+
In manager position (=1)		0.042	0.057		0.030	0.045
Income per capita		0.002***	0.001*		0.002***	0.002**
Scale of material goods		0.055***	0.047***		0.057***	0.049***
Amount of savings		0.065***	0.060***		0.066***	0.060***
Amount of debts		-0.076*	-0.067*		-0.068*	-0.059+
Problems with paying of utilities		-0.369***	-0.318***		-0.352***	-0.301***
Satisfaction with the residence			0.176***			0.172***
Health condition			0.096***			0.104***
Religiosity			0.100*			0.098*
Constant	0.372***	0.253+	-0.483*	0.495***	0.287*	-0.503**
Adjusted R-squared	0.035	0.286	0.328	0.044	0.315	0.358

Significant: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Reference: 1-2 children; families with 2-5 persons; Central Hungary; not unemployed; not self-employed; not a manager; not religious

Source: Database of the survey "Economic and social conflicts" (2013), own calculation

The positive effect of the educational level in the case of these well-being indices is probably even more obvious. The strong negative impact of unemployment is present, but being in a managerial position is not significant at this approach by the control of the other variables. Being self-employed will increase well-being if the lack of stress in the workplace is not included. The role of the financial situation and the circumstances seem to be essential also in case of these measurements of well-being. Well-being is similarly increased by satisfaction with the residence, sense of better health condition and self-classification as religious.

5. Summing up the results

This study has examined the state of subjective well-being in Hungary. The subjective well-being was considered as a *real and valid* indicator as other objective measurements of well-being. This approach is in line with

the spirit of the Stiglitz Report and with that point of view of the literature that a determinant element of the quality of life and the well-being is its experience on the individual level. Empirically, based on the literature, many kinds of indices of subjective well-being have been developed – basically in connection with that concept that there are partly cognitive evaluative and partly affective emotional attitudes behind well-being. The purpose of representation of the different (altogether four) indices of well-being (and by this the *quadruplicating* of the results), was to make the study generally more valid and reliable for the reader. The use of the data in the study from the European Social Survey – as a data source in an addition to the own survey in the TÁMOP project – also served the same purpose, namely widening the context of interpretation.

In international comparison the extent of subjective well-being, measuring the satisfaction and happiness, can be regarded in Hungary as low. In an international ranking from 2012, Hungary is the third from the bottom among 27 countries; the means are only lower in the Ukraine and in Bulgaria. This picture is just slightly eased by the fact that according to the questions related to satisfaction or happiness the situation in the former socialist countries is generally less favourable than in most of the member states of the EU and especially in the Scandinavian countries. The reliability of this statement is shown by the fact that besides this ranking, according to the data of the European Social Survey, there is a similar overall picture according to the European Value Studies (Vecernik, Mysikova, 2014).

In Hungary the well-being measured with satisfaction is fluctuating at a low level. In the last decade decreasing was rather typical. This trend has been interrupted only once, in 2010, by a measurement with more favourable results, a consequence of a political atmosphere, which seemed widely as favourable. However, this study has not undertaken to carry out a more accurate examination about the background of the various forms of satisfaction, which are moving apparently together and are related to democracy, government and economy. The process of changes in satisfaction with life was similar to this in this period.

The correlation of the subjective well-being and the socio-demographic factors shows typical breaking points lines in the Hungarian society, as it has turned out from the analysis, in which partly bivariate, partly multivariate methods were applied. It can be regarded as an interesting result that there is no difference between men and women. This is partly due to the fact that the study did not make any difference between the various

areas of life, e.g. work, financial circumstances, family, where gender differences could have expected. It is not trivial that subjective well-being among younger people is the strongest and it is deteriorating with the advance of age. It is probably less surprising that the average of well-being is the lowest for elder people, above 70, but the possible reasons for this, such as the worsening financial conditions, the deteriorating health condition and the reduction of the social relationships, should be further examined. It is more surprising that the situation is as bad among the people aged 50-59 as for those above 70. On the one hand, it can be assumed that members of this cohort have achieved the peak of their professional career and income (be it any kind of occupation, among the Hungarian circumstances), which could mean some kind of satisfaction and happiness. On the other hand, these people are the so called „sandwich” generation, who support both their growing children, who *still* depend on their help, and their old parents, who *already* depend on their help and this lays a double burden on them, which deteriorates their well-being. Otherwise, the satisfaction deficit of the middle-aged has been also shown in a previous analysis of Lelkes (2003). Compared to them the well-being condition of people aged 60-69 is more favourable, below average, and shows a similar value as that of pensioners. The members of this cohort are really fresh pensioners with possibly more benefits than losses, e.g. ceasing of stress from occupation and working; since neither their financial condition, nor their health condition, nor their social integration have started to deteriorate yet. Otherwise, pensioners are not really the group, which is in the worst situation regarding subjective well-being. The state of the unemployed is much worse than theirs. That means that losing a job in an active age is a more serious deficit than in an older age. This phenomenon, the negative correlation of unemployment and well-being, has also been previously shown by Lelkes (2003) using Hungarian data.

The correlation between the social status and the subjective well-being is clearly positive. A higher educational level (college or university degree) and in this context a higher occupational status, a professional job or a managerial position presume a higher subjective well-being as opposed to a lower educational level and the resulting unqualified work. Besides, the analysis has proven clearly that in Hungary a better income situation and more favourable financial circumstances improve, whereas financial difficulties (e.g. problems with debts or with payment of utilities) deteriorate the extent of well-being. Thus, the Hungarian case fits in the row, which disputes the validity of the Easterlin paradox. The relative measur-

ing of income in the bivariate analysis (the extent of the deviations from the average) and the absolute measuring of income in the multivariate analysis show equally significant differences in the extent of well-being. Previous Hungarian analyses have also found a significant positive difference in the extent of well-being. (Lelkes, 2003. Hajdú, Hajdú, 2011).

Further important results of the analysis are the residential and spatial differences. On the one hand, well-being is not necessarily higher among those people, who live in a larger settlement, e.g. in Budapest. On the other hand, a residence in a smaller settlement, like a village, means a lower level of well-being. A reason for this can obviously be that the education, occupation and the other financial living circumstances of the population in villages is worse. This compositional effect is typically in effect for the regional differences, as well. Well-being is, in absolute term, above average among those people, who live in the more prosperous areas of the country, in Central Hungary, in Central Transdanubia or in West Transdanubia. But if the statistical model considers that the educational level of the population in these regions is higher, the unemployment is lower, the incomes are higher, more people can save money and less people get into debt or struggle with paying for utilities, than it seems as if well-being in North Lowland or in South Lowland would be higher.

The last step of the statistical model has examined the effect of two specific areas of life. The results show on the one hand that satisfaction with the residence increases the level of well-being significantly and on the other hand the level of well-being is higher for those people, who feel healthier. Finally, the data showed a higher well-being also among those, who define themselves as religious. Lelkes (2005) has also shown that there is a positive correlation between religiosity (which is in her analysis a higher frequency of going to church) and the level of well-being.

The general purpose of the study was to show a relationship between selected socio-demographic factors and well-being. The results are in line with the previous studies and are basically plausible. Use of various kinds of well-being indices has led to similar results confirming each other.

Urban-Rural Differences in Neighborhood Satisfaction, Trust and Happiness in Hungary

TAMÁS DUSEK

1. Introduction

Neighborhood satisfaction is a research issue which is not often examined in Hungary, in spite of the fact, that it is strongly connected to the everyday life, quality of life, personal contacts and mental health of people. Neighborhood environment is not only a passive container of human behavior, but a factor which has influence on behavior, opinions and attitudes. Trust is a basic dimension of human capital and a very often used concept in everyday situations too. Positive attitudes towards one's neighbors contribute to cohesion within the local community, and thus leading to residents' willingness to participate in local affairs and to cooperate in everyday matters. It has been asserted that, in societies where people trust each other, social relations are solidified, transaction cost are reduced, problems and conflicts are solved in a more effective way, economic activities and institutions function effectively, and government and political institutions work better. "Social life without trust would be intolerable and, most likely, quite impossible" (Newton, 2001, 202). Research of happiness is as old as the history of mankind. One small slice of this are the questions connected to the impact of location and environment on the level of happiness.

This paper gives an analysis of the three questions mentioned above, from the point of view of urban-rural dichotomy in Hungary. The empirical basis of the analysis is the county-level population survey (N=2031) conducted in 2013. The first part of the paper deals with some conceptual and methodological questions, supplied by minor references to literature. The second part is an exploratory study, where besides the urban-rural aspects some important socio-demographic variables are taken into consideration too. The paper disregards from the various illusory, utopian suggestions, which is sometime ballasts this research topic.

2. General conceptual and methodological questions

2.1 Definition of neighborhood

Neighborhood can be interpreted in several different ways. It can be captured as a smaller areal unit with its spatial, environmental-ecological characteristics, or as a local network between different persons. Among the various research topics it is a fundamental one, whether the behavior, personal contacts, opinions of persons who are satisfied with their environment is different from those who are dissatisfied. On the other hand, what the role of the environmental elements is in the neighborhood satisfaction and in what extent these elements can be modified for the sake of a higher satisfaction level. And, lastly, an important question is the connection between the various socio-demographic factors (age, gender, family status, education, ethnicity, labor market position and, so on) and other personal variables with the satisfaction level.

According to the previous studies, neighborhood satisfaction shows a strong relationship between mental health and general life satisfaction, the sense of security, and stability. Evidence has also supported that the dissatisfaction with the neighborhood decreases contacts with neighbors, and increases the likelihood of mobility out of the neighborhood. This has important implications for the long-range dynamics of the neighborhoods (Adams, 1992; Austin et al, 2002; Dassopoulos – Monnat, 2011; Oh, 2003). However, high level of neighborhood satisfaction and the positive sense of community has a circular relationship, both increases the other (Brower, 2003; Hur – Morrow-Jones, 2008).

The home or home address can be identified mostly without problem, but the spatial extent of the neighborhood cannot be unambiguously delimited, because the settlements are not contained of isolated units or islands. Unitary definition is hampered by the huge differences in structure and building method of settlements and parts of settlements. The most perfect definition of neighborhood and its delimitation would be different from the conceptualization of neighborhood for each person. Therefore, the spatial extent of neighborhood can be different from person to person, not only due to the objective spatial differences of neighborhoods, but due to the different conceptualization too. Some empirical surveys ask people to give an own definition of neighborhood. In this case, the answer is valid for an unstandardized territorial unit, which is at least interpretable for the respondent (Lee – Guest, 1983). The scale of these neighborhood definitions is very different, ranging from their own street, the two-three

streets to the districts with more than ten thousand inhabitants. And besides this, some people are unable to give their own definition (Mullins, 1973). The mental processes behind the spatial relations are an interesting field of research, but the different conceptualizations, apart from the extreme situations, does not mean (1) the unanalyzability of the questions concerning the spatial relations (or: (2) that the questions concerning the spatial relations cannot be analyzed), it is just a disturbing background noise. In this research, spatial questions are concerning the neighborhood, the vicinity of home, and to the settlement. The last one is unambiguous for the majority of the respondents, the first two are dependent from the persons more or less.

2.2 The spatial level of analysis

This research treats the settlements as basic spatial units. Interestingly, the majority of spatial research deals with either bigger units (countries) or smaller units (neighborhoods inside the settlements). In this analysis, neighborhoods are not analytical units, only the attitudes towards the neighborhoods is analysed at the levels of settlements, from the point of view of urban-rural differences, that is, at aggregate level and not at the level of concrete settlements.

Urban-rural differences cannot be defined generally and principally. Each criterion (sociological, historical, legal, economical, human geographical, size and functional) used for definition can be criticized. Each settlement lies somewhere in the farm – world metropolis continuum. However, this is not an obstacle for the practical analysis for examining the effects of obvious size and functional differences of settlements. This paper uses the legal settlement definition, which has a strong relation with the size categories of settlements. In Hungary, town status is given once in a year by the president and the parliament to the applicant villages. In 2013, there were 346 towns (or cities) in Hungary. Seven towns have less than two thousand inhabitants. The legal limits between towns and villages are strict and explicit, but the functional limit, of course, is indistinct: there are villages which are almost towns, there are towns which are almost villages. However, as groups, towns and villages are clearly different. The capital city, Budapest has 1740 thousand inhabitants, the second largest city, Debrecen, has 208 thousand inhabitants. There are 23 cities with county rights: the 18 county capitals, plus 5 cities with more than 50 thousand inhabitants. This paper distinguishes these three categories in the cities: Budapest (as a dominant city, without any other city close to it),

cities with county rights and other cities (named as towns for now). This categorization is good for that reason too, because it is almost the same, as the categorization according to the size of the settlements.

From the methodological point of view, the location of settlements would be important, besides the above mentioned difference in size and legal form. First of all, the difference between suburban villages, close to the cities, and the villages farther from the cities is potentially interesting. In these two categories, the spatial arbitrariness can occur, because there is no strict difference between the two categories. Secondly, an own category for the farm population would be reasonable. Due to the space limitation, these two aspects are not investigated in this paper. However, these two factors should be investigated in a more detailed analysis, as well as the various districts inside the settlements.

The duration of homeownership is also an important indicator, which mixes the spatial, temporal and personal characteristics. Several previous investigations have shown the importance of this factor and its relation with the evaluation of neighborhood environment. Longer residence means stronger local ties, stronger local integration, more friends, relatives and formal contacts too.

2.3 The spatial factor, as a unique explanatory variable

Examination of socio-demographic characteristics can be extremely complex in the case of simultaneous examination of several socio-demographic factors. This can be further complicated with the inclusion of behavioral and attitude variables. However, any inclusion of spatial characteristics leads to a more complex connections between various factors and makes the effect and directions of causality uneasy to arrange. The reason behind this is, that spatial characteristics are simultaneous with any other non-spatial variables, therefore it is necessarily a new and peculiar dimension. Spatial characteristics are categorically independent from the demographical and behavioral characteristics, which can be cause (for example, the neighborhood has an influence on family status or on the choice of job) and effect too (for example, the family status or the job has an influence on the choice of neighborhood). The direction of causality cannot always be decided, the interrelated connections are more frequent.

Some basic forms of causal relationship, however, can be distinguished. Firstly, spatial variable has a direct effect on behavior. The most obvious case is the effect of climate or weather. Secondly, spatial variable has an

indirect effect on behavior, because the direct effect influences the socio-demographic characteristics through both the mobility of people and by autonomous spatial processes. Thirdly, the socio-demographic characteristics have an influence on the choice of location, and in this case socio-demographic characteristics have an effect simultaneously on location and behavior. Fourthly, socio-demographic characteristics have an indirect influence on behavior through the choice of location. The fourth case can be accepted by a spatial researcher, but it is a rare case in the mainstream sociology.

To put differently the main dilemma of explanation: either the neighborhood, settlement type has an influence on behavior through spatial mobility, or the settlement type has an effect on the behavior of inhabitants. Both forms of explanations can be true at the same time.

2.4 Measurement of trust and happiness

The concepts of trust and happiness are similar to each other from many points of view: both notions are widely used in everyday life, everybody has an opinion about them, their essence can be a subject of fierce discussions. These concepts are examined by sociologists, economists, politician analysts, psychologists and other human sciences. Both notions became trendy for the research. This manifested also in the publication of new academic journals by famous publishers: Journal of Happiness Studies and Journal of Trust Research. Parallel to this tendency, operationalization of the concepts themselves is a popular research area. Tremendous suggestion exists for measurement of the concepts. For example, the world database of happiness research (worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl) contains 997 different surveys with different wording, scaling, and number of questions.

In spite of the mushrooming possibility of surveys, measurements can be made principally in two ways: either with only one question (general or global happiness and trust) or with many questions (forms of happiness, trust in something). It depends on the aim of the study, which is used. In this research trust was measured with 19 questions, and happiness with one question. This is a good sharing, because general or global trust means almost nothing. Trust can be interpreted much better as a trust in someone or something (person or institution), but general happiness is a much better concept than happiness in some specific area of life.

2.5 The abundance of general literature of the subject

Research on neighborhood satisfaction is as old as sociology itself. From the historical forerunner, human ecology of the Chicago School in the first half of the twentieth century has to be mentioned in the first place. This approach examined the effect of environment and the density on human behavior and treated the city as an ecosystem in analogy to natural ecosystems (Park – Burgess, 1925). According to the school, the local communities are a system of social ties: friendships, relatives, formal and informal contacts and local institutions are their main building blocks. Treating settlements as complex and organic structures is also a valid starting point of the analysis today, but the data, analytical methods and computational capacity that were available ninety years ago were inferior compared to the present. Research of neighborhood environment in the sixties and seventies was based heavily on the Chicago School (Suttles, 1972; Michelson, 1976; Rapaport, 1977; La Gory – Pipkin, 1981). The school was criticized at the same time due to the excessive ecological, environmental approach and the de-emphasizing of social and occupational aspects (Szirmai, 2014).

The starting point of the contemporary neighborhood research is the empirical observation which in spite of the higher spatial mobility, the neighborhood continues to be a salient arena for everyday life for the high majority of people, and it can be an important explanatory variable for several behavioral characteristics. The majority of people spend most of their time at home, the biggest expenditure for most people is their dwelling. One of the morals of neighborhood research is the lack of general rules independent from space and time, only the classification is possible of the various patterns. Therefore, empirical research is necessary to know the actual problems of local conditions and specific geographies and for giving advices for curing problems, at least, if it is possible.

Neighborhood research has a long tradition and this is mirrored in the introductory parts of contemporary papers. However, contemporary and recent research papers on trust and happiness often declare the novelty of this research topic. This is minimally questionable. Thoughts about trust of popular ideologist, such as Fukuyama, Putnam or Coleman are close to the triviality and well-known for classical economists too. Brereton et al (2008) writes that “However, it wasn’t until the 1990s that researchers began to examine this spatial aspect of well-being in the economic psychology literature. These more recent papers found that characteristics of people’s immediate surroundings (their locality) influenced their well-being, but

also that the wider environment had an important role to play in explaining what makes us happy (.) Findings indicate that excess noise levels adversely affect well-being, as does air pollution and the influence of climate depends on the variable in question, indicating the potential importance of spatial factors in determining wellbeing” (Brereton et al, 2008, 386-387).

Similarly, Easterlin et al. (2011) writes: “But economic studies focusing specifically on subjective well-being by urban-rural residence are virtually nonexistent” (Easterlin et al, 2011, 2188). This mentality was termed sixty years ago by Sorokin as „discoverer’s complex”. This novelty claim cannot be supported if someone examines the literature.¹ The abundance of literature makes the survey impossible, not the lack of it. Moreover, the topic is so close to the everyday experience that its examination has begun in the antiquity: happiness and environmental satisfaction, positive and negative sides of urban and rural life were a frequent theme of philosophers and poets. This is true for the ancient Egypt, Sumerian and Old Persian literature, bucolic poetry. It is true, that these were not analysis according to the twenty first century scientific standards, but speculations based on personal experiences. However, these types of speculations can be found in contemporary literature too: the subjective and pessimistic feelings regarding post-Second World War housing estates or modernist buildings or the alleged problems of urban life, were only created by researchers.

Because of the abundance of literature, the overview and synthesis is dispensed here. In the empirical part, comparison of the results with some previous findings will be given. Similar Hungarian survey, which deals with the urban-rural differences, can be hardly found. Survey on income and living conditions (SILC) contains similar questions and it gives information about urban rural differences too, but it is not their main aim. Of course, most research would have the possibility to deal with urban-rural differences, but socio-demographic factors are more popular, presenting spatial aspects is marginal, at best. On the other side, several aspects of urban rural differences are examined, but they are not similar to the topic of the present analysis.

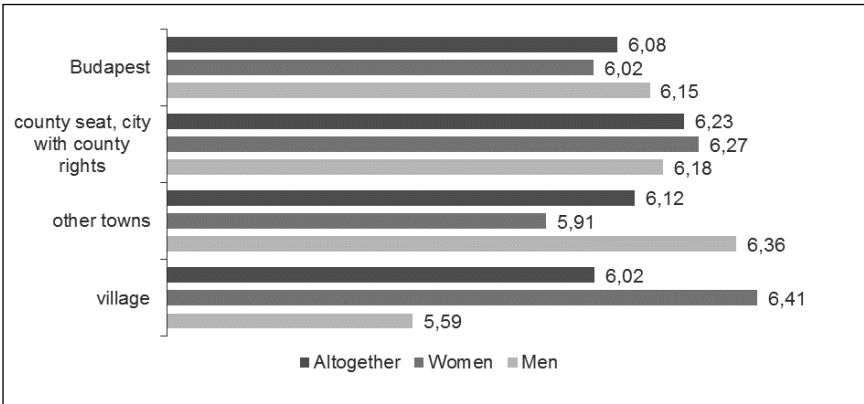
¹ To mention only one easily available paper: First European Quality of Life Survey: Urban-rural differences is a more detailed analysis than Easterlin’s paper about urban-rural differences.

3. Empirical analysis

3.1 Neighborhood satisfaction

There were many items on the neighborhood satisfaction in the questionnaire. However, another paper also analyzes this question, therefore only the urban-rural aspects will be investigated here. The most general question was: “How satisfied are you with your neighborhood?”. Answers could be given in a 10 point Likert scale: 0 perfectly dissatisfied, 10 perfectly satisfied. The means of answers can be seen on Figure 1, according to the genders. The differences are not big, similar to other aggregative studies. Cities with county rights are the most satisfied category on average, differences between genders are smaller in this category. The least satisfied category is the villages, its average is 0.21 less than the cities with county rights. (The differences between the various categories are significant at 5% level, if they are greater than 0.04; minor differences can occur because of small differences in the number of observations and standard deviation.) There are some differences between the various age categories: the smallest level of satisfaction is at the middle age category (5.82). This is a similar finding to the previous, long ago known empirical facts (La Gory et al, 1985; Lawton, 1980): the older persons are generally the most satisfied with their neighborhood (in this survey the average of above 60 year old persons is 6.30).

Figure 1 Neighborhood satisfaction according to the settlement category and gender

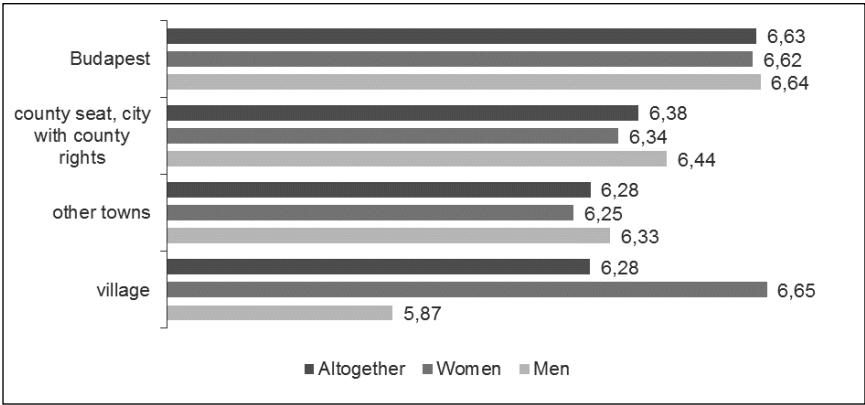


Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Age distribution is slightly distinct at various settlement categories, therefore age standardized averages were also calculated for both genders. The differences are minor: the biggest one occurred in villages and with women, but its size is only 0.03. Standardization with other socio-demographic variables did not resulted with bigger differences. This is interesting, because it shows that only a small fraction of these spatial differences can be originated from the uneven spatial distribution of the socio-demographic variables, their major part is pure spatial differences. According to the results, the inhabitants of cities with county rights are the most satisfied with their neighborhood, inhabitants of villages are the least satisfied. In the last case, worthy of note, that there are huge differences between the genders: women are more satisfied than men in villages.

Compared to the neighborhood satisfaction, satisfaction with the settlement is much higher in each category (Figure 2), the average difference is 0.28. The biggest difference between neighborhood and total settlement satisfaction can be seen in the case of Budapest, here the latter one is higher with 0.55. Gender differences remained in villages, where women are more satisfied than the men with the total settlement, as well.

Figure 2 Settlement satisfaction according to settlement category and gender

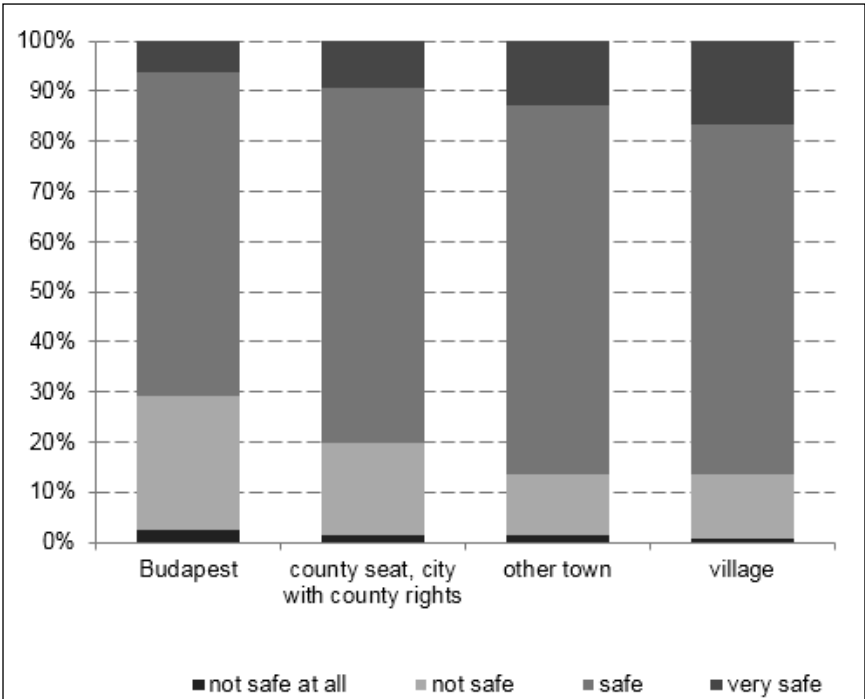


Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Compared to the neighborhood satisfaction, there is a slightly different result to the question of description of neighborhood. The answer to this question could be given in a 5 point Likert scale, from very depressing to very pleasant. The average became 3.52, the expected average is 3 (3 was the choice for average satisfaction). This means that own neighborhood is

valued above the average. It is feasible that psychological processes inflate the judgments: “I must like the place” is a reasonable solution for decreasing the possible cognitive dissonance. It is a very hard question, how can this effect be investigated through settlement types or is this effect the same at each settlement type. It was not possible to examine this effect. Only it can be seen, that Budapest has the smallest average (3.45), towns are the biggest (3.59), then villages (3.54). The order is reversed here, compared to the neighborhood satisfaction, but the difference between settlements categories is small.

Figure 3 How safe is it to walk in the neighborhood after dark?



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

The main component in the neighborhood satisfaction is the subjective evaluation of safety. Fear of crime, the emotional response to possible violent crime and physical harm, is psychologically detrimental at personal level and it may constrain the physical mobility as well. Fear decreases neighborhood cohesion, participation in neighborhood associations and

community ties (McCrea, 2005), but these consequences are not supported by every research (Baba – Austin, 1989). Many items in the questionnaire dealt with this problem, the most direct was the following: What is your opinion, how safe is walking alone in your neighborhood after dark? Answers could be given from perfectly safe (4) to not safe at all (1) scale. (Figure 3) The results are not surprising: in accordance with the expectations and the previous research, Budapest has the least subjective sense of safety (2.57) and it is the highest in villages (2.89). Women are more fearful of crime than men in each settlement category, the average difference is 0.15. The difference between women and men is the smallest in villages, which is the safest settlement category.

Almost the same question was asked in the EU-SILC 2013 survey. Unfortunately the answer is not presented in the research publication, only the answers for a very similar question: Sense of safety in the neighborhood at night. The possible answers: I feel myself in big danger, I feel myself in moderate danger, I feel myself in quite safe, I feel myself in very safe. The results are the same from the point of view, that the sense of safety is the highest in villages. However, in the EU-SILC survey, Budapest was the second one, then towns and the last one were cities with county towns. The other difference is that the two endpoints of the scale are much more represented in the EU-SILC survey than in our survey.

One obvious finding of previous research is that the best predictor of fear of crime is sex, at least from the socio-demographic variables (Hale, 1996). In our research the spatial aspect was more important. In the villages the average of women was 2.84, in Budapest the average of men was 2.66, consequently the spatial differences overshadow the gender differences, in spite of the high level of spatial aggregation. A more detailed spatial division may create a much bigger differences as well, but gender cannot be divided into more than two parts.

Fear of crime was asked in other forms too. This is advantageous, because global fear of crime mixes attacks on persons and wealth, burglary, robbery and homicide. These can be mostly hypothetical and unreal situations, therefore fear of crime can be overvalued (Hale, 1996; Farrall, 1997). This can be seen very well by the answer to the next question: Do you fear offenders while at home alone at night? The total average of the answers (scaling is the same as before) 3.49, opposite to the previous 2.72. This is a more concrete form of fear, 59 % of respondents never feel it, 33% only rarely. Gender differences (0.42) in this question are higher than in the

previous question and as between Budapest and villages (0.14). Thus this is a more personality dependent form of fear, but the neighborhood also plays a role in it. According to the answers, those who fear at home, he or she fears in the street as well, but the opposite is not true: those who fear in the street, he or she does not necessarily fear at home.

Another question also has a relative form: the chance of burglary or violent attack in the neighborhood, compared to the country average. There is no difference between Budapest and cities with county rights, towns have a better position and villages are the best. (Table 1) Country average became 2.19, which means averagely a better subjective fearing of safety of neighborhood as the country average. The answers are not very different according to the sex and age.

Table 1 Subjective relative safety of neighborhood compared to the country average

	Total	Men	Women	Younger adults	Middle age adults	Elder adults
Budapest	2.38	2.43	2.33	2.34	2.42	2.38
Cities with county rights	2.43	2.39	2.46	2.40	2.51	2.38
Other towns	2.15	2.15	2.15	2.06	2.30	2.08
Villages	1.95	1.99	1.92	2.00	1.92	1.94
Total	2.19	2.19	2.19	2.17	2.25	2.16

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Wide range of possible problems was asked, how important are they to the neighborhood. Six from these can be interpreted as direct and obvious neighborhood problem. The others either as general problems, not necessarily connected to the settlements (for example alcoholism, family violence), but their perception can be influenced by the home of the respondents. Or there are problems which are not at all true problems for the ordinary people, just constructed by the researchers: segregation of riches. Not important (1) and important (5) were the two endpoints of the scale, and besides this, there was a not at all (0) category too. The averages can be seen in Table 2 (more accurate presentation of the results is disregarded). The most important differences are between the villages and towns/cities, differences among the three city categories are mainly not significant. The only one problem which is as important in villages as in the cities is the increasing poverty. However, this is not a neighborhood or a spatial problem, but a social problem with spatial dimensions. The

biggest differences are in homelessness, which is understandable, because homelessness is a typical urban problem, independently from the spatial origins of homeless people.

Table 2 Problems of neighborhood

Short description of the problem	Total	Budapest	Cities with county rights	Other towns	Villages
Increasing poverty	3.52	3.20	3.63	3.64	3.51
Alcoholism	2.73	2.70	3.12	2.87	2.30
Burglary, robbery	2.50	2.78	2.73	2.58	2.09
Illegal waste deposit	2.43	2.42	2.62	2.57	2.13
National, ethnic conflicts	2.29	2.59	2.44	2.62	1.64
Family violence	2.19	2.27	2.51	2.42	1.66
Rich and poor people living beside each other	2.03	2.23	2.40	2.12	1.54
Taking drugs	2.02	2.37	2.69	2.14	1.21
Economic crime	2.02	2.09	2.50	2.33	1.32
Segregation of rich and poor people	1.97	2.29	2.43	2.05	1.35
Homelessness	1.94	2.58	2.98	1.88	0.87
Violent crimes against persons	1.88	2.14	2.35	1.99	1.30
Organized crime	1.68	2.06	2.23	1.78	1.02
Prostitution	1.42	1.87	1.88	1.47	0.79

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Sense of safety is better and problems are moderate in villages. In spite of this, general satisfaction (neighborhood and settlement level too) was the lowest in villages. This shows the complexity of satisfaction: several objective circumstances (working possibilities, accessibility and quality of services, and so on) and subjective reasons and personal realities stand behind the valuation process. Optimal settlement, optimal neighborhood, optimal home from every imaginable point of view does not exist. Optimality belongs to the world of utopias at an individual level and much more on a group level.

This type of aggregate neighborhood research has serious constraints, because searching for the sources of neighborhood problems and of their possible solutions have to be based on the knowledge of individual situa-

tions. Above the mentioned problems, frequent factors decreasing the neighborhood satisfaction are the traffic problems, street litter and disorder, vacant buildings and problems of social contacts, bad relations with the neighbors. The last one can be examined, because a question asked the respondents about the conflicts with their neighbors. Those persons who absolutely do not have any problems with their neighbors, has average neighborhood satisfaction 6.07. Those persons who have very big problems with their neighbors, have an average neighborhood satisfaction 4.10. Averages of the other two categories (who have some small problems and problems) are between these two values. These differences are similar in each settlement category, but in villages much more persons have absolutely no problems (87%) than in Budapest (57%). Relation between the trust in neighbors and neighborhood satisfaction is the same: the group who has less trust in neighbors has less satisfaction.

3.2 The trust

As in the introductory part of the paper about trust was written, mainly positive contents are attached to the trust. This is acceptable generally but not always. Trust in an irrational, corrupt, inconsistent institution can be harmful too. Therefore, surveying trust is much better with a questionnaire with many items than only measuring the global or general trust. The EU-SILC survey resulted with a 10 grade scale for general trust 5,30 (5,20 for women, 5,54 for men). This result can be hardly interpreted, even in the light of temporal or international comparison, which suffers from various language and contextual problems.² Our analysis is able to give a more sophisticated, exact, unambiguous description, because trust was measured with 19 distinct groups of persons or institutions.

The results have a great variability according to the subject of trust. (Table 3) Settlement type, age and gender differences can be significant too. The highest score (8.88) belongs to the family members, which is not surprising, but important, because it shows the hard interpretability of general questions or those types of questions which are concerned with an unknown group. The mental processes behind the valuation of general or unknown situations are obscure. Opinions and attitudes exist about known phenomena. More precise questions (for example "Do you trust your mother in specific situation") can give more different results.

² About the comparability of the Likert scale between different cultures, or about the reference-group effect, see Heine et al (2002).

Table 3 Trust in various groups and institutions according to the settlement type

Do you trust in...?	Total	Budapest	Cities with county rights	Other towns	Villages
Family members	8.88	8.79	9.14	8.91	8.70
Friends	8.01	7.79	8.33	8.08	7.86
Colleagues	7.51	7.16	7.66	7.40	7.76
Employer	7.18	7.17	7.22	7.06	7.28
Science	7.06	7.31	7.08	7.10	6.86
Neighbors	6.83	6.20	6.92	6.98	7.01
Fellow countrymen	6.51	6.29	6.60	6.66	6.43
Inhabitants of the settlement	6.36	5.97	6.30	6.43	6.57
Police	6.12	5.91	6.33	6.17	6.03
Education	6.05	5.86	6.11	6.20	5.95
Law, legal system	5.91	6.09	5.88	6.09	5.63
Local government	5.82	5.57	5.86	5.64	6.14
Market system	5.72	5.86	5.79	6.00	5.25
Health institutions	5.58	5.01	5.77	5.78	5.60
Civil societies	5.57	5.51	5.69	5.40	5.73
Church	5.44	4.68	5.50	5.71	5.55
Government	5.07	4.99	5.13	5.22	4.90
Political system	5.05	5.13	5.10	5.10	4.90
Banks	4.68	4.92	4.93	4.64	4.39
Mean value	6.28	6.12	6.39	6.35	6.24

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Only personal contacts is in the first four places, the first abstract institution is science in the fifth place, followed by neighbors. Fellow countrymen and inhabitants of the settlement mean more general groups of people than the previous groups with a higher trust level, but they are not entirely abstract. These eight items are only followed by institutions or abstract institutions. This is a healthy, sound and understandable ordering: why would the people have, for example, higher trust in a civil society than in their own neighbors? Which world would it be, where people could have higher trust in a bureaucratic institution than in personal acquaintances?

General differences between settlement types show higher trust level in cities with county rights, then towns, villages and at last Budapest. Exceptions from this general picture is highly interesting: trust in person-

al contacts is much lower in Budapest, trust in abstract institutions (law and legal system, market system, political system, banks) is higher than in villages, institutions with more concrete personal contacts is higher in villages than in Budapest. The difference is bigger in the case of church.

This distinction between abstract and non-abstract institutions, however, is not perfect, because persons can have personal experiences about banks too, and not everybody has direct experience with church, moreover, church may have different meaning for different people and this difference can be a spatial pattern too. Anyway, higher level of personality in villages surely plays an important factor in explanation of these differences. Cities with county rights and towns have a higher trust level than villages. This is in accordance with the social psychology claim that between too impersonal, too open and too small, personal communities there is an optimum somewhere.

In Budapest, compared to other settlements, trust is lower in personal contacts, but the differences between settlement categories are much lower than the differences of trust between the personal and impersonal contacts.

The average of the 19 items was 6,39 for women and 6,15 for men. This result is the opposite of the EU-SILC survey. Men have a higher trust only in family members but the difference is not significant (0.02). The biggest difference occurs with church, where the average of women is 0.87 higher than men. Gender differences according to the settlement categories are interesting. Trust in family members is the same in Budapest and in villages, but men have a higher scores in Budapest (difference is 0.35), women have higher scores in villages (difference is 0.10). Similar results are not known, but, of course, these could be calculated easily from the basic data of similar surveys.

The highest trust level can be seen in elder age: above 60 years, the average is 6.49. Between younger adults (under 40 years) and middle age adults there are no differences (6.18 and 6.20, respectively). However, trust of younger adults is higher in Budapest, mainly thanks to the much higher trust level in abstract institutions. Trust of younger adults in personal contact and health institutions is not higher in Budapest.

3.3 The happiness

Happiness research investigated, at least, the following factors:

1. Psychological and personal characteristics are the main area of psychology.
2. Socio-demographical factors (age, sex, race, marital status, education).

3. Economic factors (income, wealth, employment).
4. Contextual and situational factors (relation with family members, friends, colleagues, neighborhood environment, working environment).
5. Temporal closeness of unusual negative and positive life events (death and birth in family, traffic and other accidents, robbery).
6. Amount of free time.
7. Outer institutional, cultural, societal factors (political situation in a country or other level, practice of religion).
8. Environmental and societal catastrophes (wars, natural disasters).

An extra factor for these various factors is the spatial point of view. If some factor has a spatial pattern, then its effect on happiness may lead to spatial differences in happiness too. For example, natural disasters (floods, earthquakes) are spatially concentrated and at the same time they have detected short term effect on the level of happiness (Kimball, 2006; Uchida et al., 2014). The economic situation, development also has huge spatial differences, and this factor also has accepted effect on happiness (more wealth - more happiness). Complicated dilemmas of these questions are not treated here, because both country-level and personal-level investigations have just a minor contact with the differences by settlement type. Shortly it will be mentioned, that the results of our survey are the same as the two principal findings of the metaanalysis of happiness (Myers – Diener, 1995; Blanchflower – Oswald, 2008; Lelkes, 2008): women are happier than men (the difference is minor), according to the age there is a U shape, the less happiness level is at middle age, at older age there is on increasing tendency, but the happiness level does not reach the level of younger adults.

The main results can be seen in Table 4. The main averages of genders are apparently in contrast with the writing about the gender differences in the previous paragraph. In reality, the share of elder age groups is a little bit higher in the sample than the share of younger adults. Standardized results by age, women have a higher average than men. According to the settlement type, women have a higher happiness level in Budapest, but this is attributable to the big difference in middle ages (here the average of women is higher than men with 0.56). In villages, younger men are happier than women (this is the second largest difference among the 12 possible category differences), in middle age category the women are happier. For the interpretation of the size of difference, it is worth emphasizing, that these are spatially highly aggregated units, and as this, small-

er differences can be treated more important than in the research of psychological characteristics.

Table 4 Happiness level according to the settlement categories, gender and age

Category	Total	Men				Women			
		Total	Youth	Middle age	Elder adults	Total	Youth	Middle age	Elder adults
Budapest	6.76	6.68	7.14	6.19	6.62	6.81	7.13	6.75	6.61
Cities with county rights	6.90	6.91	7.12	6.68	6.88	6.90	7.37	6.82	6.55
Other towns	6.84	6.93	7.13	6.98	6.66	6.76	7.32	6.49	6.56
Villages	6.71	6.70	7.35	6.21	6.48	6.72	7.14	6.69	6.40
Total	6.80	6.81	7.20	6.54	6.64	6.79	7.24	6.67	6.52

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

In the total population, the lowest happiness level is in villages. This result is similar to the European Quality of Live Survey (2006) and to the findings of Easterlin et al (2011). In most developed countries, the happiness level is slightly higher in villages, in other countries (middle developed or underdeveloped) in cities. The differences can be mainly traced back to the economic factors and to the better general economic position of cities. This difference is disappearing in the most developed countries, but in other countries it is still valid.

The previously examined two factors, namely neighborhood satisfaction and trust, is connected to the level of happiness. This is a typical two-directional connection: people with higher neighborhood satisfaction are happier, and happier people have higher neighborhood satisfaction. This is true for trust and happiness, as well. Claiming that from the two factors one is reason and the other one is effect is a rather philosophical or view of life question than a scientific research task.

A Few Characteristics of the Problems in the Private Life and in the Social Relationships and of the Resulting Conflicts

ZOLTÁN CSIZMADIA

1. Introduction

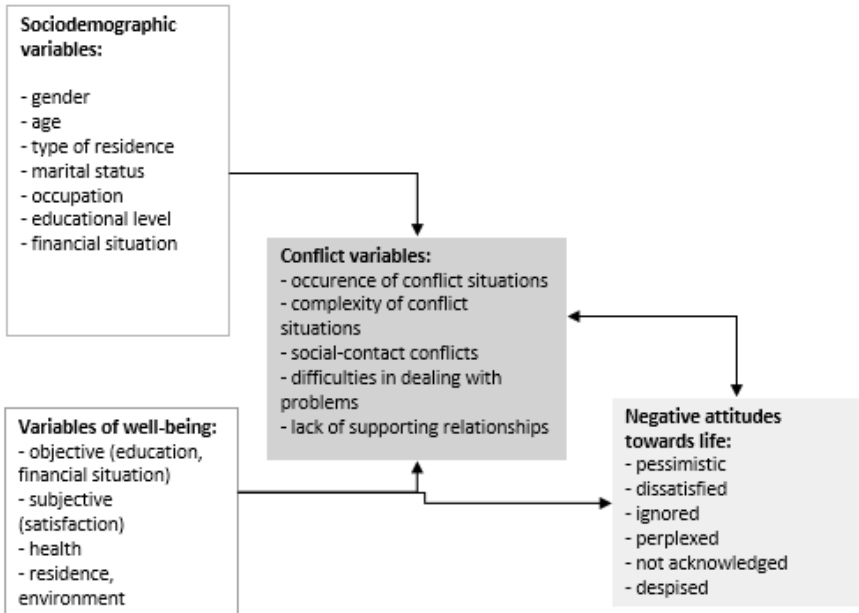
The purpose of this study is to present a few essential characteristics of personal-private problems in everyday life, interpersonal social-relationship problems in the private sphere, and social conflicts resulting from these problems by means of a nation-wide questionnaire survey (N = 2031 persons). The conceptual-theoretical framework of the research and the interpretation of social problems and conflicts were already previously explained in detail. In this paper, an attempt is made for a detailed empirical analysis of one component of the five dimensional, comprehensive conflict model (problems of private life and social relationships).

In the first step, after a short conceptual overview and a short overview of the literature, the method of the applied measuring by means of questionnaires, the applied questions in the research, which make up the conflicts indicators, and all of the above mentioned are presented. Afterwards, the burdens of problems and conflicts of the population in everyday life will be overviewed. As well as, the occurrence, connection and building on each other of the different forms of problems and conflicts are overviewed. Answers about in which social groups and along which social characteristics the occurrence of such situations happen at a higher probability, are also searched for. What are the characteristics of groups, which are burdened with social problems and conflicts? Finally, a look are taken at the connections between the two phenomena by using the developed indicators for measuring well-being. How close is the correlation between the personal, private and social problems and conflicts of everyday life and the objective and subjective indicators of well-being? Basically, the purpose is to provide a contribution to the issue, which is the background of the whole research program: namely the questions, to what extent, and in which direction different types of conflicts influence well-being.

Figure 1, can also be regarded as the content map of the research study,

which summarizes each dimension (factors) of the research, the empirically measured components (variables) of the dimensions and the possible directions of correlations between them. The focus of the analysis is certainly an in-depth description and representation of each conflict variable and an identification of negative attitudes towards life, which are at the same time both causes and consequences of problem situations experienced day-to-day. The possible explanatory factors serve to characterize those social groups, as accurately as possible, in which the private and personal problems and conflicts appear to a greater extent than usual. The arrows show here clearly that the effect and the role of these factors will be explained in the next pages.

Figure 1: Elements and connections of the research



Source: Own collection

The possible determining factors are divided into two groups for a more thorough examination of social well-being, thus, besides the traditional socio-demographic elements, four dimensions of the well-being, can also be included when exploring the correlations. It is possible that the figure indicates clearly that the development of conflicts and problem situations is influenced by so many factors. In this case, the potential effective factors can also be interpreted from all three fields (factor groups).

During the examinations three fundamental conceptions are applied. In connection with the concept of the social conflict, following the conceptions explained in the theoretical, introductory chapter, it is assumed that there is a conflict in the most general sense, if the interests of two or more social actors (persons, groups, institutions...etc.) are incommensurable and as a result there is a tension in their relationship to a certain extent (Crouch 2001). The possible most comprehensive definition of the concept of a social problem is that it is a socially constructed condition, based on objective facts and subjective perceptions, goes through individual and collective considerations, which jeopardize and undermine the well-being and the expected or targeted quality of life of some, many or all members of the society, in form of immediate damages or disadvantages or in form of narrowing of chances, opportunities or choices (Macionis 2012). Measuring social development, quality of life and well-being became a "hot topic" in the profession in the last years again (Harcsa 2011; Kopp, Martos 2011; Nagy 2014). In connection to well-being the multidimensional approach of the Stiglitz report (Stiglitz, Sen, Fitoussi 2010) is applied, which is based on the assumption that the quality of life of households should be examined in at least eight dimensions (material quality of life, health, education, individual activities, political representation, relationships, environment, factors of uncertainty) in such a way that besides the objective factors (e.g. income, education) also the subjective aspects of well-being (e.g. happiness, satisfaction, lack of negative attitudes toward life) are considered. Within the framework of this research the well-being is measured in four dimensions: objective well-being, subjective well-being, health condition, residential environment.

A comprehensive and complete overview of the literature is not the purpose of this paper. However, it should be at least emphasized that the number of scientific works, based partly on empirical research, in Hungarian research projects about private and social conflicts is surprisingly low and it concentrates around a few main topics. In the literature of social conflicts the political, social and ethnical, national, religious and environmental aspects are primarily emphasized. Concerning private life, everyday challenges and relationships, four main fields of research can be separated. In the case of intra-familial conflicts, a few earlier papers (Cseh-Szombathy 1985; Lengyel 1990; Csepregi 1994) can be regarded even today as a starting point for characterization of marital, partnership and, in a broader sense, of interpersonal conflicts. The most recent literature deals with the instability in partnerships (Pilinszki 2013) and with the intergen-

erational conflicts (Janky 2005). In the last few years there is an increasing number of research studies, which review the question of balance, compatibility and conflicts of work and private life (Barakonyi 2007; Koltai 2010; Makra, Farkas, Orosz 2012; Nagy 2014; Szalma 2014). The third main research field concentrates on social problems and conflicts related to city life, in the broader context of competitiveness, considering challenges caused by areal-regional coexistence (Csizmadia, Molnár, Váradi 2007; Szirmai, Váradi 2009; Szirmai 2009). Finally, following the conflict interpretation and definition of well-being of this paper, the examinations related to the quality of life (Kopp, Kovács 2006) and to the mental state of the population (Kopp 2008; Susánszky, Szántó 2013) are the starting points, because satisfaction, happiness and negative attitudes towards life, as the subjective dimension of well-being and causal determinants of conflicts in the private life, are important issues in this work.

2. Methodological questions – possibilities of measuring problems/conflicts in the private life with questionnaires

The first problem indicator perceives the main aspects of the issue generally, at the level of the Hungarian society, and not considering private households or living conditions. The question was about, in which areas are there *the most serious problems* in Hungary nowadays, according to the test persons in the sample, who had to select the two most important problems from altogether 14 problems¹. In general sense, the determination of scope and weight of determining factors behind these conflicts begins at this point.

Negative feelings, attitudes towards life have been measured independently from the specific situation or event in general (collectively). The persons, who completed the test, had to respond to certain statements with the help of a five-grade point system.² Six statements have been formulated, from which two measured the existence of positive and the other four of rather

¹ The list of problems, from which it could be selected, was the following: 1. low number of children; 2. condition of democracy; 3. health conditions of the people; 4. everyday living; 5. home situation; 6. environment pollution; 7. immorality; 8. alcoholism; 9. drug abuse; 10. imperfection of education; 11. number of suicides; 12. conflicts between older and younger generations; 13. ethnical problems; 14. public safety.

² Answer codes based on a five-grade point system: 1 point = do not agree at all; 5 points = completely agree.

negative attitudes.³ With merging of the answer categories „completely agree”, and „rather agree/do not agree” six status indicators of negative attitudes toward life as dummy variables have been developed: 1. pessimistic (20,1%, no answer: 0,4%); 2. unsatisfied (24,4%, no answer: 0,1%); 3. ignored (16,6%, no answer: 0,7%); 4. perplexed (22,2%, no answer: 0,2%); 5. not acknowledged/unappreciated (20,8%, no answer: 2,8%); 6. despised (11,7%, no answer: 3,3%). In the course of the analysis, the background factors behind each condition and the frequency of connection of each negative attitude towards life is examined.

Two specific conflict questions can be regarded as the central part of the research. These questions measured, possible problems and conflict situations related to the private life situation or in a broader context, to the narrow environment of the person (family, workplace, social networks). The two questioned areas were the following: 1) probability and frequency of various types of problems in the private life in the last year; 2) intensity of burden on interpersonal relationships caused by conflicts in the test persons' lives.

Conflicts and problems in private life have been assessed with the following questions: „How frequently⁴ have the following problems, worries⁵ arisen, causing conflicts or arguments in your private life? In this case, the main purpose was the determination of conflict-burden in the private life and the development of a list of hierarchical problems, based on the probability of occurrence of the problem areas.

The *conflict burden of social life and social networks* have been measured with a very simple intensity indicator („How do you feel about the conflict and tension load in your following social relationships in general?“), where among four options could be selected⁶ in that case, if the given relationship

³ Statements: 1. I am optimistic regarding the future. 2. The development of my life is as I would like it to be. 3. I feel myself ignored in society. 4. Life became so complicated these days that I can hardly find my way. 5. I do not feel that what I am doing is acknowledged as a value. 6. Some people despise me because of my work/unemployment, income.

⁴ Answer codes based on a four-grade point system: 1 point = hardly ever appears... 4 points = appears very often.

⁵ Problems: 1. earning money, income, living problems; 2. management of larger investments and expenses; 3. household tasks, works to do at home, split of duties; 4. individual ambitions and wishes pushed in the background; 5. problems resulting from learning or educating children; 6. health problems, illnesses; 7. problems from obligations regarding maintaining contacts with family members and relatives; 8. partnership problems; 9. other, especially....

⁶ Answer codes based on a four-grade point system: 1 point = not burdened at all ... 4 point = completely burdened.

form existed in the ego-network of the test person. The possible directions of connection have been classified into ten types, in the questionnaire.⁷ With this question, the complexity and conflict burden of the contact system could be examined with continuous consideration that the persons answering in the sample are presumably characterized by different contact configurations. This conflict indicator measures essentially, which percentage of all occurring contact types, which are relevant in the specific situation, are loaded at least to a small extent (a point value of at least 3 or 4) with conflicts or problems.⁸ In this case specific content of the problems and conflicts were not asked, because of the lack of time.

Besides the occurrence and intensity of conflicts, the determination of *conflict management* features has also been considered as important. On the one hand, how easy (or on the contrary, difficult) it is for the test persons to cope with problems, what kind of conflict management potential they possess. On the other hand, whom can they count on in the case of such problems rising, do they have external private supports, which can be mobilized in such situations, or do they have to rely essentially on themselves? In this case is the scope of interest of this research the persons, who have been left on their own, without supportive or helping relationships.

In the first step it has to be made clear, how difficult people believe *conflict management and coping with challenges* to be in everyday life.⁹ Ability to cope with problems has been measured on a 11-grade scale¹⁰, where a larger value implies a potential of coping with a more difficult conflict. Naturally, it was not possible to examine each problem area of the subject matter, due to the time constraint of the questionnaire. Therefore types of questions, which answers include the word "generally" were required, keeping in consideration that the starting point had to be the most serious challenge. The difficulties of coping with rising challenges are also a part of the problems in private life. Furthermore, the lower ability to cope with problems can play a role in the development of further conflicts, thus this indicator can be a part of a more complex description of the aspects of the conflict.

⁷ 1. with his/her partner or spouse; 2. with his/her parents; 3. with his/her children; 4. with his/her brothers and sisters; 5. with his/her other relatives; 6. with friends; 7. with his/her neighbours; 8. with his/her colleagues; 9. with his/her superiors; 10. with professional circles.

⁸ 49% of the test persons (996 persons) have not reported a single relationship conflict therefore the indicator can be related to a narrower part of the sample (1035 persons).

⁹ The question reads as follows: „How difficult is it for you, in your opinion, to cope with significant problems in your life?“

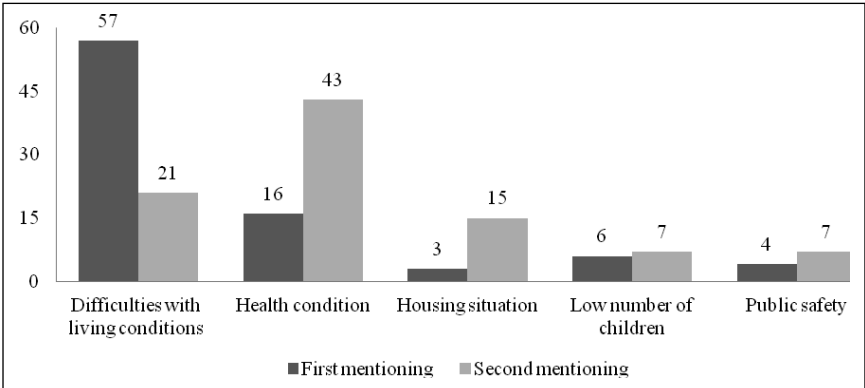
¹⁰ 1 point = very easy... 11 points = very difficult

Additionally, a question under consideration is, *on whom can rely the individual in such situations*, only on him- or herself, or is there a supportive, protective net around him/her, based on private relationships.¹¹ The presence of supportive relationships has been asked in three areas¹²: mental and emotional support; financial support; support and care in a physical sense. The main question was to decide, to which extent was the individual left in these situations on their own and with their own resources and on whom they count primarily in the form of supportive relationships.¹³

3. The basic characteristics of problem indicators

In the context of the most important problems, perceived in present Hungarian society, the way of thinking of the people follows a relatively simple pattern. Despite the 14 predefined problem areas, and the possibility of other answers, only two factors from the answers are striking remarkably (Figure 2).

Figure 2: The most important problems in the Hungarian society of today, % (N=1990)



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

¹¹ The question reads as follows: „Whom can you count on in the first place, if you need help in the following areas in mitigating or solving of problems?“

¹² Relationship types used at the previous indicator was applied also in this case.

¹³ The conflict variables above with the exact question and frequency distributions can be found in the annexes.

In the first place, *as the most important problem*, a major share (57%) of the test persons mentioned problems with everyday living, this is followed by the health condition (16%), which is the dominant factor of the second mentionings as well (43%). In the list housing situation, low number of children and public safety are also mentioned, with lower proportion of occurrence, though. The proportion of votes for the other factors is insignificant (it is only around 1-2 percent). The most test persons have presumably answered the questions by taking their own environment as a starting point. Therefore it seems to be practical to compare the answers with the logic and composition of the problem system defined by their own situation.

The probability of frequency of problems in private life, which led to frequent conflicts or disputes in the own life of the test persons in the last year, has a similar logic (Table 1). From the four answer options, only the categories “often” and “very often” are dealt with. The sample is divided in two equal groups. 50 percent of the test persons had at least one kind of problem in the private life often or very often in the last year. In the other half of the sample there are only rarely occurring problems.

Table 1: Problems occurred often or very often in the last year, %

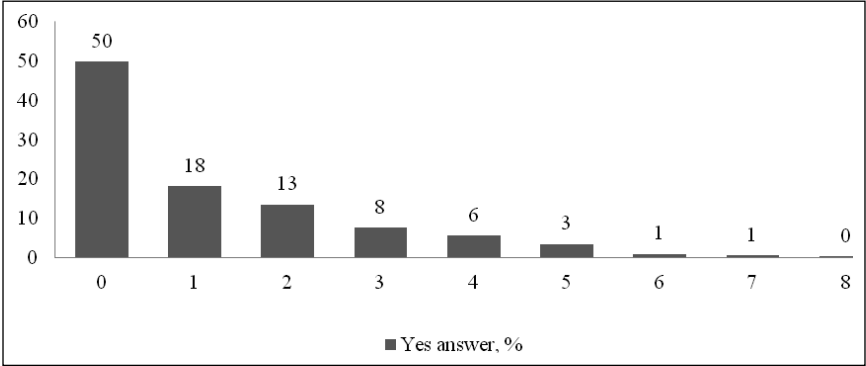
Problems	Question is irrelevant, %	Whole population, %	Only, if the question is relevant, %
Earning money, income, living difficulties	12	33	38
Managing of larger investments, expenses	15	23	28
Risk of losing job, unemployment	50	12	25
Health problems, illnesses	11	19	22
Individual ambitions, wishes pushed in the background	16	15	18
Household tasks, works to do at home, split of duties	10	13	14
Problems resulting from learning or educating children	51	6	14
Maintaining contacts with family members and relatives	9	6	7
Problems in partnership	32	4	6

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

In the problem system the main parts are definitely the factors related to finances, quality of life and living. During the weekdays the most vital problems are in connection with earning money, living, management of larger investments and expenditures and with the risk of losing job or unemployment. These generate disputes and conflicts in the households with the highest probability. In the middle of the order of frequency, roughly at each fifth test person, health problems, individual ambitions and complications around difficulties with self-fulfilment play a role. The occurrence of problems based on social relationships is surprisingly low. Among those people concerned, the probability of occurrence often or very often of such private conflicts was only 6-7 percent.

A more serious accumulation of problems and conflicts, which occur more frequently and return many times, is very rare (Figure 3).¹⁴ In half of the sample there was no problem area, in 18 percent only one and in 13 percent at most two problem areas have occurred more often in the last year.

Figure 3: Index of complexity of problems in private life – How many problems have occurred, from the possible nine, at least often or very often, in the last year? % (N=2031)



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

According to their complexity three groups are developed, which are examined later more thoroughly. The largest group is the set of those people, where none of the problems occurs frequently (50%), the second group belong to those, with two types of problems occurring more fre-

¹⁴ The complexity of problems in the private life has been measured in that way, that it was counted in how many cases the questioned person answered at least with the category of answer „occurs often“, or „occurs very often“.

quently (32%) at most and in the third group are those people, who are burdened by private problems to a greater and more intensive extent (18%).

With crosstab analysis the probability of occurrence of the 9 listed factors is examined in the two groups with different problem loads (Table 2). The values are suitable to specify the phenomena, which are the core of the problem situations in the private life in the two groups.

Table 2: Occurrence of each problem types in the two groups, loaded with problems, %

Problems	Group 2 – 32% (problems 1-2)	Group 3 – 18% (problems 3-8)
Earning money, income, living difficulties	52%	90%
Management of larger investments, expenses	26%	82%
Risk of losing job, unemployment	17%	32%
Health problems, illnesses	31%	51%
Individual ambitions, wishes pushed in the background	13%	56%
Household tasks, works to do at home, split of duties	11%	52%
Problems resulting from learning or educating children	5%	26%
Maintaining contacts with family members and relatives	3%	30%
Problems in partnership	2%	18%

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

It can be easily noticed that in the group with the complex problem situation, the challenges of living (the first two factors), which are present with almost everybody, are extended by nonmaterial factors with different probabilities. Particularly high is the probability of occurrence of disputes and conflicts in the area of health, self-fulfilment and the split of duties at home.

The *connections between the problems* can also be measured by analysis of correlations between the total points indicating the occurrence (Figure 4). The correlation coefficients between the factors are significant; each time they indicate a positive relationship and the values are spread between 0.245 and 0.642. In six cases the values of the positive correlation coefficients in pairs are particularly strong.

Figure 4: Connection of each problem area – correlation coefficient in pairs

Workplace	0.642	Earning money
Earning money	0.630	Larger expenditures
Family relationships	0.601	Partnership
Individual ambitions	0.540	Learning or educating children
Individual ambitions	0.520	Household, housework
Household, housework	0.488	Learning or educating children

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Our *social relationships* are essential conflict channels in our everyday life; they are fields of development and reflexion of conflicts, while in some cases they are efficient tools for handling conflicts as well. It is obvious that relationship conflicts are dependent on the interactions. It is difficult to generalize this question. It was not possible to carry out a more thorough examination of social networks during the questionnaire survey, therefore the tensions during interpersonal relationships could not be analysed with complete accuracy. In spite of this, questions had been asked about the load of some kind of social contact forms with conflicts and tensions (Table 3).¹⁵ A contact is considered as loaded with conflict, if the test person had chosen at least the answer “loaded to a small extent” (the answers loaded very much and loaded completely clearly belonged to this category).¹⁶ Measuring the phenomenon in this way, mainly those questions could be answered, what is the probability of carrying signs of conflicts at each type of connection.

Table 3: How do you feel your social contacts are loaded with conflicts and tensions generally? – The relationship is loaded at least to a small extent, %

Direction of relationships	Do you have this kind of relationship?, %	Was there a conflict at least to a small extent?, %
With superiors	47	33
With direct colleagues	49	30

¹⁵ At each direction of relationship, a general answer had to be given, not regarding a specific person in the relationship, and the extent of the burdening had to be measured with a four-grade point system.

¹⁶ It concerns only those, who have this given form of relationship. The probability of occurrences has been calculated only related to these test persons.

Direction of relationships	Do you have this kind of relationship?, %	Was there a conflict at least to a small extent?, %
With partner, spouse	60	26
With other relatives	96	24
With neighbours	99	24
With parents	62	23
In professional relationships	48	22
With brothers and sisters	81	21
With own children	70	19
With friends	96	14

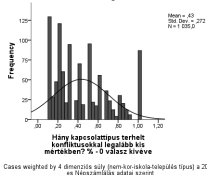
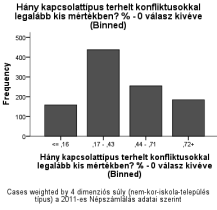
Source: *Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013*

Basically all values are low, considering the fact that even a load to a small extent is regarded as an acceptable criterion. In case of all relationship forms, two-thirds of the population has not reported any tensions or problems. Generally relations regarding working environment (30-33 percentage of the concerned persons) and in the interactions of partnership relations (one-quarter of the concerned persons) are loaded with conflicts to the highest extent. The most stable relationships are developed with interaction forms which are based on strong bonds with friends, children and brothers and sisters.

An indicator for measuring *the complexity of conflict-load of the relationship system* has been developed. From the 10 different listed relationship directions, 7 types occurred in the case of persons included in the sample. It can be concluded from this, that most of them have a complex relational system. Of course there is no information about connection points, which could be assigned to each type of relationship direction and this question will not be dealt with. On the other hand, it can be said at which proportion of all existing relationship directions some kind of conflict, dispute or tension occurred, at least to a small extent. The higher the percentage indicator is, the higher the load ratio of the social relationships of the test person with conflicts is (Figure 5). Within the whole sample, problems and conflicts, based on the same kind of relationships, occurred to 1035 persons. On average in 43 percent of the relationship types a conflict occurred, at least to a small extent. The values are between 10 and 100 percent, the standard deviation is 27.2. In the case of simpler, more restricted personal relation-

ships, which includes only a few types of binding (relationship types 1-5) the average value is 50 percent, while at truly complex relationship systems (relationship types 8-10) the load indicator is around 40 percent.

Figure 5: Indicators of conflict load of relationship system

How many relationship types are loaded at least to a small extent with conflicts from the possible 10?	The development of the average of the load indicators, according to the number of relationship types.	Development of load indicator, 4 groups
Valid answers: 1035 persons Average: 43% Median: 37% Standard deviation: 27% 	1-4 types – 49% 5-7 types – 46% 8-10 types – 40%	1-16% - 158 persons (15,3%) 17-43% - 438 persons (42,3%) 44-72% - 255 persons (24,6%) 72-100% - 185 persons (17,8%) 
The conflict load of the relationship system is above average:	44-71% 72-100%	255 persons (12,5% of the whole sample) 185 persons (9,1% of the whole sample)

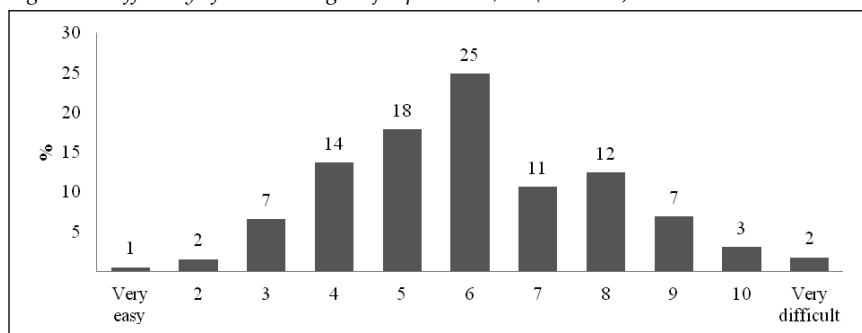
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Categorizing the results, two groups are formed, in which it can be observed, that the number of participants' interaction channels, loaded with conflicts, is more than average. Considering the whole sample, each fifth person is a member in one of the two groups, but even the size of the category of a more complex load (72-100%) is 9 percent.

In the *problem treatment* area a simple question was measured generally, how easy or difficult is it for the test persons to overcome major problems in everyday life (Figure 6).¹⁷

¹⁷ The question had to be scored from zero until ten (0 = very difficult...10 = very easy). Because of the topics the scale had been turned around. The higher the value was, the more difficult it was for the test person to cope with larger problems.

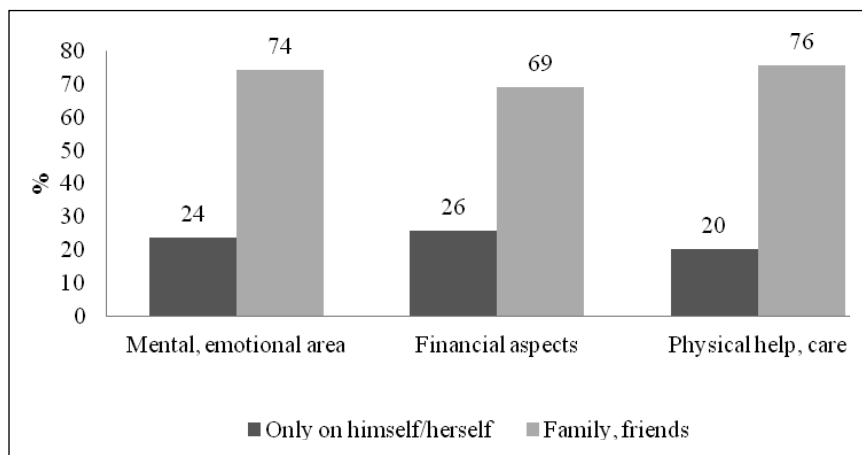
Figure 6: Difficulty of overcoming major problems, % (N=2011)



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

The larger part of the population, following the usual answer pattern for these questions, considers the difficulty of overcoming problems and conflicts as an average. However, in this study the extreme values are of importance. For the later examinations, the upper segment of the normally distributed indicator will be of importance, which is the group of those persons, who consider the process of problem handling and overcoming conflicts rather difficult (7-8 points, 464 persons, 23%), or really difficult (9-11 points, 237 persons, 12%).

Figure 7: On whom can you count in the first place, if you need help – the two most frequent categories of answers, %



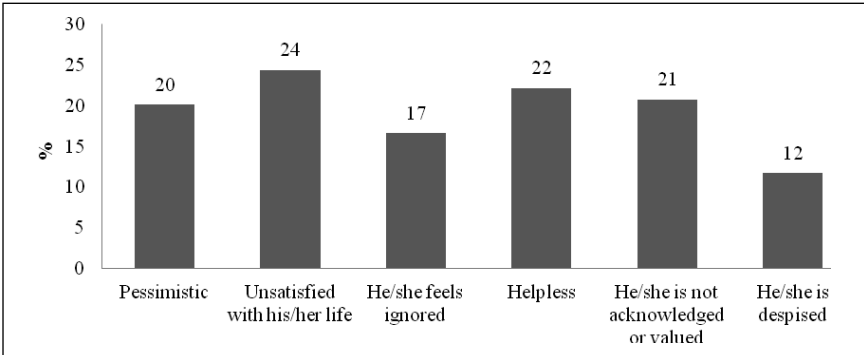
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

In relation to the primary supporting relationships, private and publicly organized supports, *which play a role in solution and mitigation of conflicts*, there is a really simple logic. Practically most people count on the support of their narrow environment (family, friends), or on themselves (Figure 7). The proportion of representatives of professional associations, the civil society and the helping professions is in the answers only insignificant (1-2%).

It can be considered a more hindering factor of handling of difficulties and problems if the test person can rely only on himself/herself in more problem situations, because of the dominant role of strong relationships. Thus he/she cannot activate private supports, from his/her social environments, which would listen to him/her and offer him/her mental, possibly financial, support or any other physical support. Briefly, the question is, how typical is it, in the life of the individual that he/she cannot count on anybody besides himself/herself? Counting up the answers "only on himself/herself" in the three areas, a new indicator can be developed, which indicates in how many cases from the three areas, supports or external helping relationships are missing. At 58 percent of the population, there are in all three areas external helping relationships, at 24 percent the external support is missing only in one area. Regarding this research, the group of people with lack of external support is more important. This group is (counting only on himself/herself in 2 or 3 areas) approximately 18 percent of the population, but even in the most extreme case (counting only on himself/herself in 3 areas) is 10 percent.

The analysis of social problems and conflicts regarding personal life is finished with the topic, occurrence of *negative attitudes towards life*. These are conditions, which are at the same time causes and consequences of challenges occurring in everyday life and can be considered in their indirect form, especially combined with each other, also as a good measurement of conflict load (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Occurrence of negative attitudes towards life („entirely true”, or „rather true” answers), %



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

One-fifth of the persons, who answered the questions, occasionally even a quarter, reported some kind of negative attitudes toward life (e.g. pessimistic about his/her future, unsatisfied with the course of his/her life until now, his/her merits will not be acknowledged, he/she is unsuccessful in today's world), moreover 17 percent feel ignored in the society, 12 percent think that he/she is despised because of his/her job, income or standard of living. There is no connection of individual status indicators in the majority of the population: there are no such negative attitudes toward life in 49 percent of the sample, in 21 percent, at most in one case and in 19 percent, at most in 2-3 cases. On the other hand, 11 percent of the tested persons reported in at least 4 questions about such problems.

As it is apparent, the endeavour during the descriptive analyses at each conflict and problem indicator is that the group of people should be highlighted, in whose life the values of individual status indicators are below average or sometimes even unexpectedly high and extreme. After identification of such persons, who are loaded with problems to a greater extent, it will be examined which common characteristics those groups have and what the connection system is of the individual problem indicators in the everyday life of individuals.

4. Connection of problem and conflict situations

According to the descriptive analysis, altogether five status indicator group variables¹⁸ have been proven as suitable for identification of different aspects of challenges in private life. In the next phase of the analysis, the correlation is examined between these status indicators of problem and conflict situations. All five index numbers (Table 4) represent some kind of condition or situation, thus they are suitable to separate such kind of specific groups in the national representative sample, in which it is characteristic for the participants that problems and conflicts in private life occur to a greater extent.

Table 4: Weight of the five problem indicator status variables in the whole sample

Variables	Number of elements	Frequency
1. Occurrence of at least 3 different types of conflicts from the possible 9 in private life during the last year (e.g. living, health, split of duties in the family).	375	18,5%
2. At least 70 percent of relationship types are loaded with conflicts.	185	9,1%
3. Difficult or very difficult coping with major problems in his/her life.	237	11,8%
4. He/she can count only on himself/herself in case of problems or conflicts.	347	17,5%
5. Occurrence of negative attitudes toward life in at least three areas from the possible six (e.g. pessimism, dissatisfaction, state of being ignored).	354	17,5%

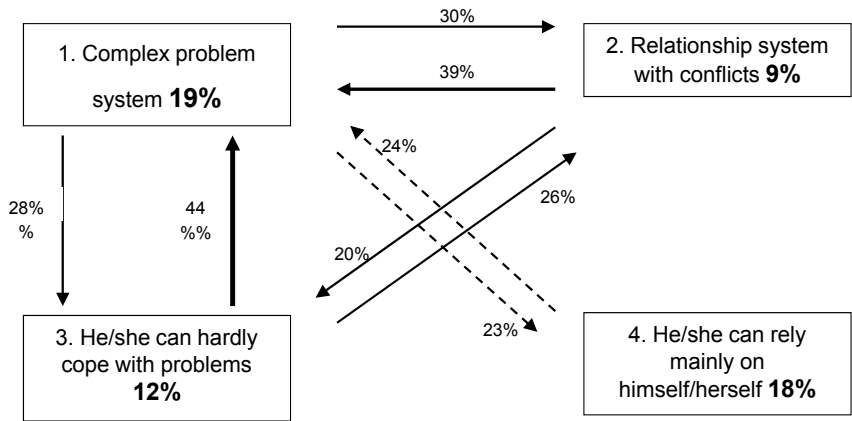
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

The probability of connection of each condition has been examined with crosstab analysis (Figure 9). Apart from the lack of external, helping supports, in each case, a significant correlation can be observed between the problem indicator status variables (for the interpretation of the figure, see the explanation). The most obvious and logical correlation can be observed

¹⁸ Because of the kind of questions asked, variables with an ordinal measure level could be developed at most, which are calculated in the most cases from the occurrence of "some special situations". Thus, it seems to be more suitable, if the presence of conflict situations is measured primarily with the occurrence or lack of "some special situations" in everyday life.

between the ability of problem handling and the complexity of problems. Among those who can cope hardly with everyday challenges, the proportion of occurrence of a complex problem system is twice higher (44 percent compared to the average of 19 percent, of the sample). Similarly convincing is the relation of social network and accumulation of problems.

Figure 9: Correlation between the status variables – crosstab-analysis, cell frequency of characteristics by pairs, %



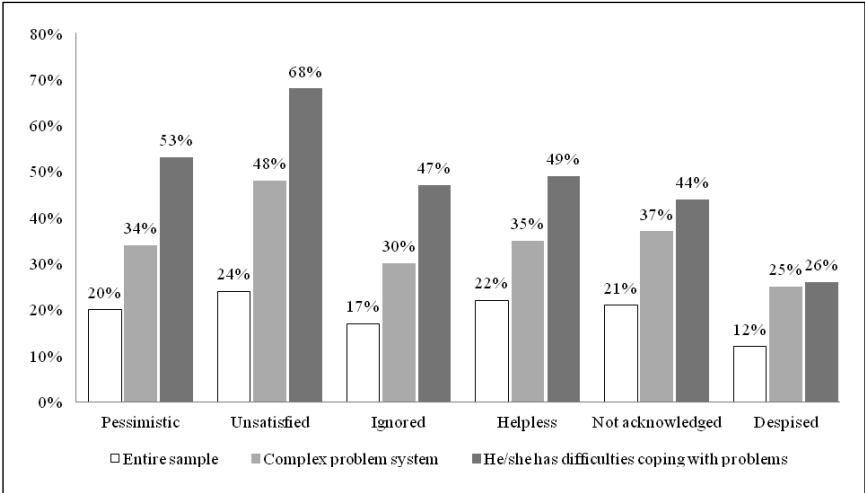
Explanation: The values show the probability of occurrence of characteristics pairwise. E.g. if the problem system is complex, then 28 percent of those persons also can hardly cope with problems, which is a much higher probability, than the average of 12 percent in the whole sample. The arrow in the opposite direction implies that 44 percent of those, who have difficulties coping with problems, report a complex problem system, although the proportion of people under such conditions is only 19 percent in the whole sample. The thickness of the arrows shows the strength of correlation.

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Of course the concentration of conflict situations and problems in private life also have an impact on the area of negative attitudes toward life. It is analysed in groups loaded to a greater extent with problems, to which extent are those participants overrepresented, who have more than one negative attitude towards life. In the complete sample, 17.5 percent of the test persons reported negative attitudes toward life in at least three areas. On the contrary, this proportion among people with a complex problem system is 36 percent, among those people, who can hardly cope with prob-

lems is 51 percent and among people with relationship system with conflicts is 25 percent. In case of lack of supportive, helping relationships no significant differences can be observed among the answers. From the various forms of negative judgements of life situations, problems have the strongest influence on the dissatisfaction and on the pessimistic future prospects. Furthermore, it can clearly be seen in the results (Figure 10) that these values are also extraordinarily high among those, who have difficulties coping with problems.

Figure 10: Occurrence of different forms of negative attitudes toward life in groups, which are loaded with problems to a greater extent, %



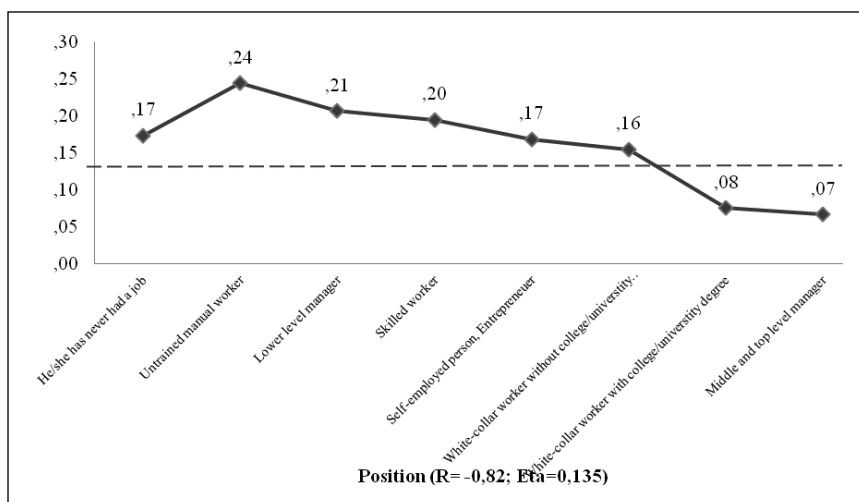
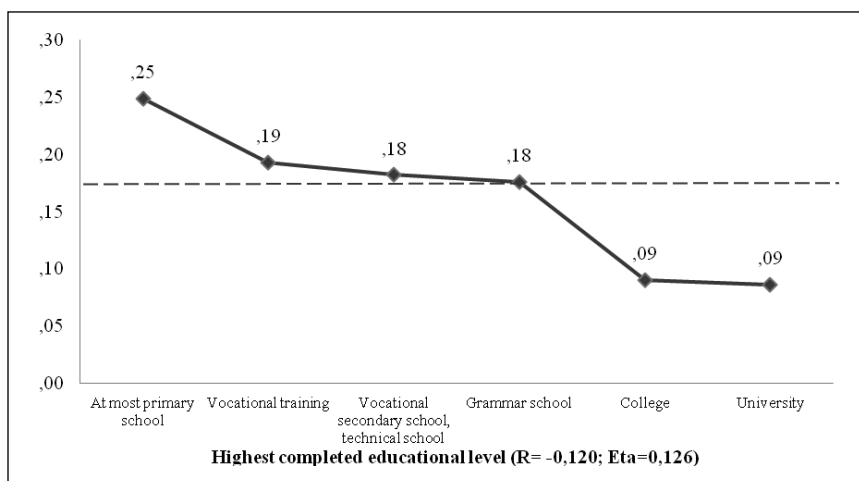
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

5. Social characteristics of groups with private problems and conflicts

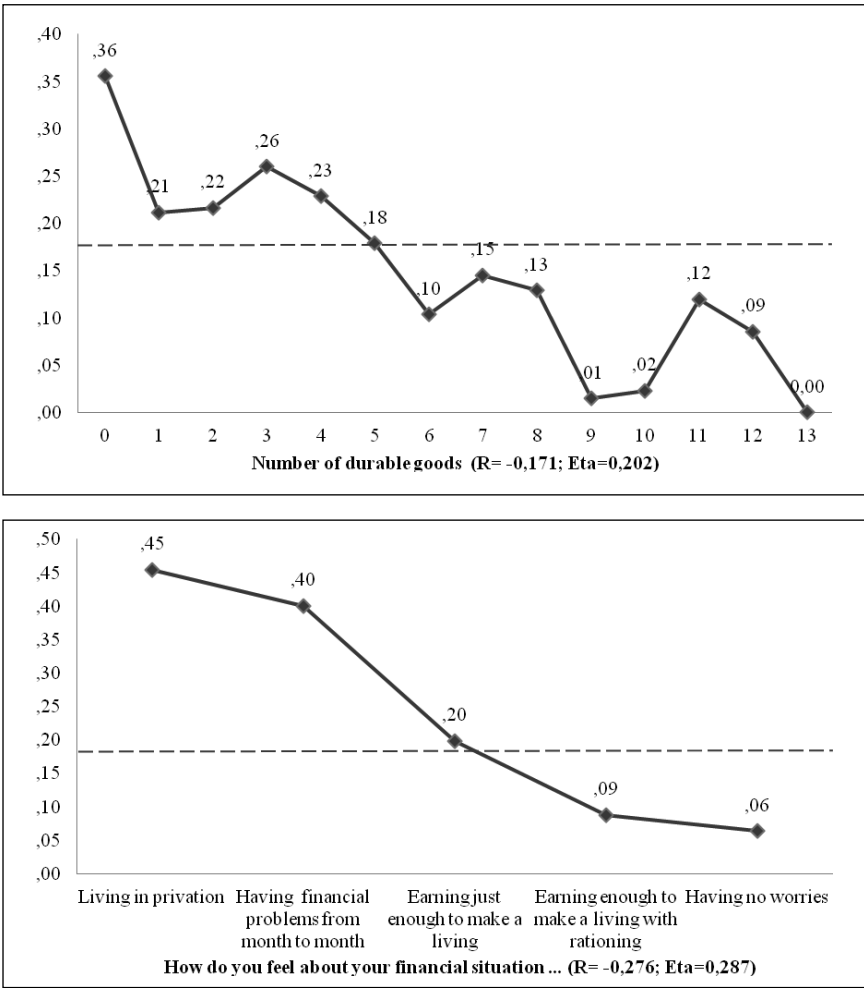
It has turned out previously that in the subjective judgement of problem situations and conflict situations in the context of everyday life, the key factors are those incidents, which are related to financial conditions, costs of living and work. That means that these are the most frequently occurring incidents in households with complex problem systems. Thus, it is not surprising that among the demographical background variables only those play a dominant role, which form these key factors, namely the educational level, the position and the financial conditions (Figure 11).

The results make it clear that even though it is not necessarily true that “money does not make you happy” but a more favourable social status will decrease the challenges of everyday life. The occurrence of primary conflict resources among the population will be moderated significantly by a higher educational level, position as a university/college graduate or by more favourable financial circumstances.

Figure 11: Probability of occurrence of complex problem situations with at least three factors as a function of educational level, position and financial conditions, 1 = 100%



Continuation of Figure 11...



Explanation: The horizontal line represents the whole sample average (18%).

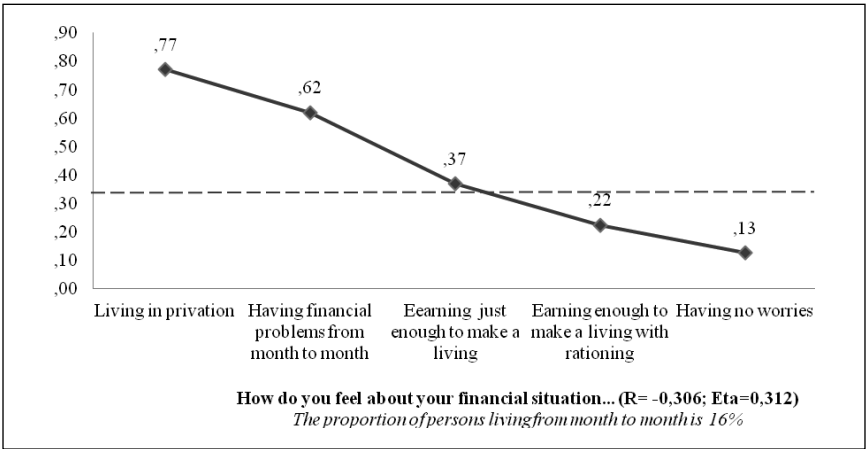
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

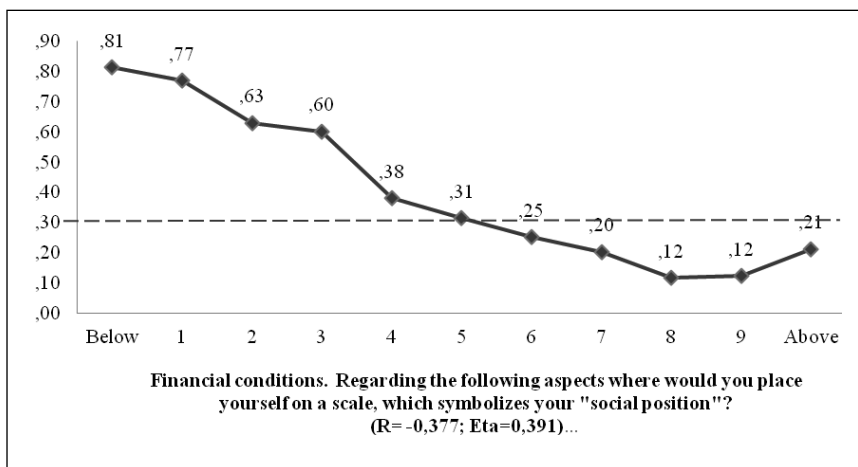
If the first three financial factors are removed from the problem list and a problem complexity index is built only based on the remaining six elements, then the picture will be slightly changed. At 64 percent of the population not a single problem has occurred during the last year. In the remaining 36 percent of the sample at most one or two types of problems occurred. In this index number, without those factors, which relate to the costs of living, the meaning of the complex problem system is that at least

two types of problems have occurred at the same time in the last year. 16 percent of the test persons can be characterized by such a life situation. Gender, age or type of settlement play no significant role, even in this case, in the formation of values. On the other hand persons with a lower educational background (22%), divorced people (23%), widows and widowers (19%), singles (22%) and unskilled blue-collar workers (21%) are even in this case overrepresented in the categories living under bad financial conditions, indigents and living from month to month (32%). The list of “protecting factors”, which include higher educational level, higher occupational status and, as a result of these, more favourable financial conditions can be extended to the partnership (both marriage and life partnership) and to the lack of loneliness.

It was shown previously from the point of view of coping with problems and challenges of everyday life that on the average it is difficult or very difficult for 35 percent of the population to cope with these situations and circumstances and within the whole sample this task is definitely very difficult for 12 percent. Also in this case, persons with a lower education level and with less favourable financial conditions and the singles are overrepresented in the group of persons, who are having difficulties or having a lot of difficulties coping with problems. The most remarkable differences can be observed along the financial factors, thus, from these factors two examples will be presented (Figure 12).

Figure 12: He/she has difficulties or a lot of difficulties coping with the problems and conflict situations of everyday life, probability of YES answers as a function of the financial situation. 1 = 100%



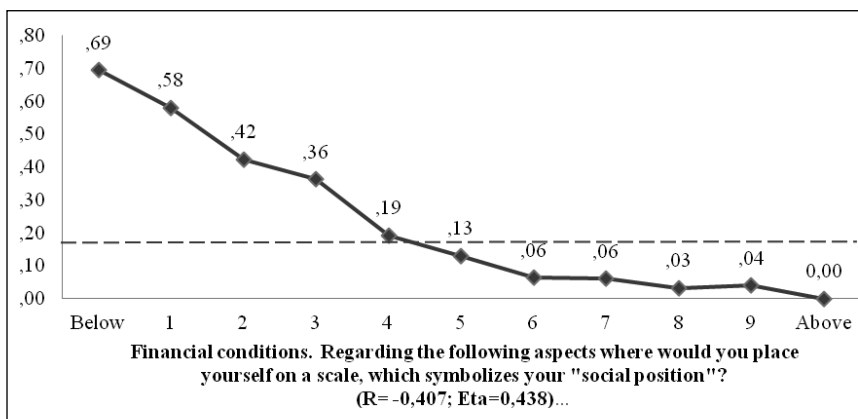


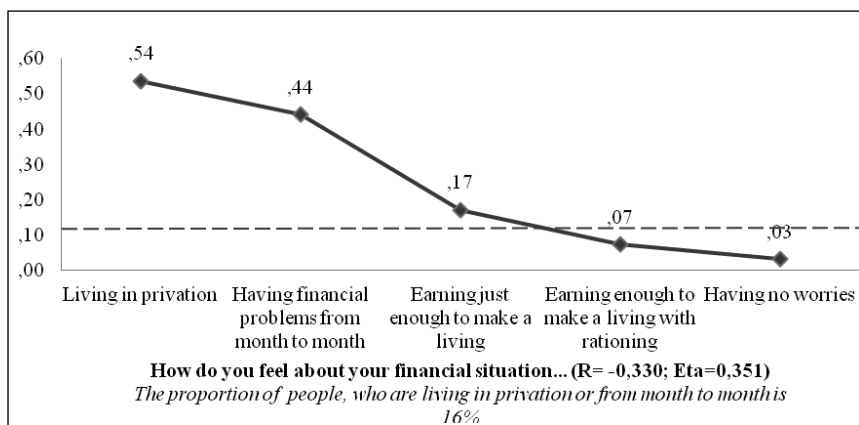
Explanation: The horizontal line represents the entire sample average (35%).

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

It can be clearly seen that the potential for coping with problems is alarmingly bad for the poorer groups with a lower social status and lower education. In the lowest group, which is a magnitude of one fifth of the society, 60-80 percent of the test persons can only cope with problems and conflicts with a lot of difficulties in their everyday life and perceive their situation practically hopeless.

Figure 13: Simultaneous occurrence of at least three negative attitudes towards life, probability of YES answers as a function of the financial situation, 1 = 100%





Explanation: The horizontal line represents the entire sample average (17%).

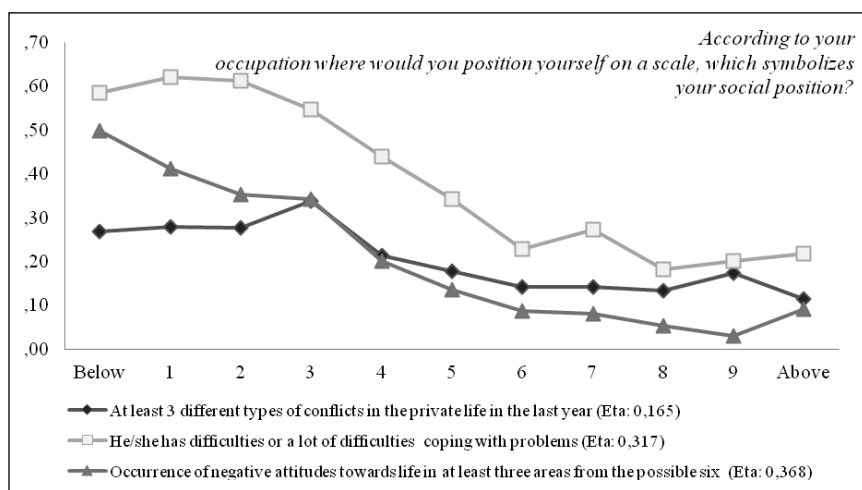
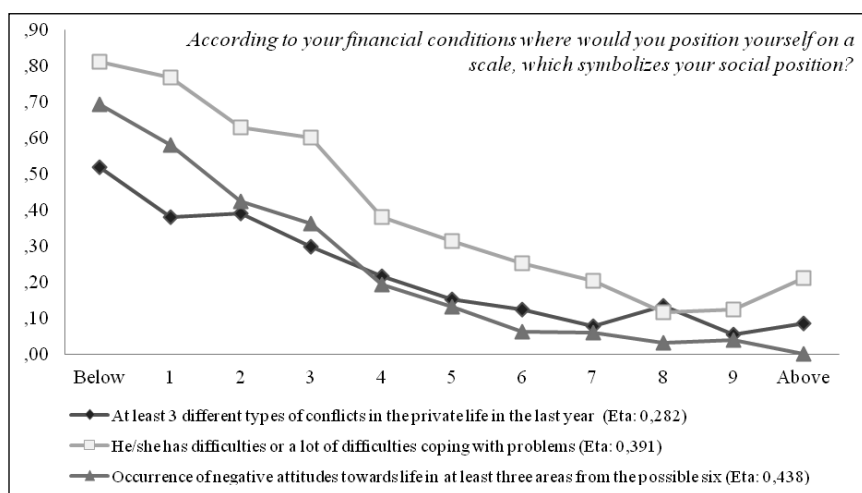
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Also related to bad mental conditions, which can be described as negative attitudes towards life, a similar context system can be observed. Lower education level, lack of partnership, loneliness, manual work in a low level position and especially unfavourable living circumstances, significantly increase the negative judgement of their life situation, the perspectives and the living opportunities, the social esteem and the social approval (Figure 13).

It can be clearly seen that the accumulation and the rate of occurrence of negative attitudes towards life are extraordinarily high in groups, which are poor, have a lower social status and a lower educational background. In the lowest group, with a magnitude of one fifth of the society, 40-60 percent of the test persons are simultaneously in many aspects in an unfavourable emotional-mental condition, as a consequence of pessimism, dissatisfaction, perplexity, state of being ignored...etc. Persons in the lowest one fifth of the society, regarding the ladder of financial status, can be characterized for example, by the following: the proportion of those, who are unsatisfied with their life, is around 60 percent, the proportion of those, who have a pessimistic future perspective, is around 50 percent, the proportion of those, who feel themselves ignored, is around 40 percent, the proportion of those, who feel themselves not acknowledged or unappreciated in the world of work, is similar to the previous percentage and one third of these people think that he/she is despised because of his/her standard of living, income and status.

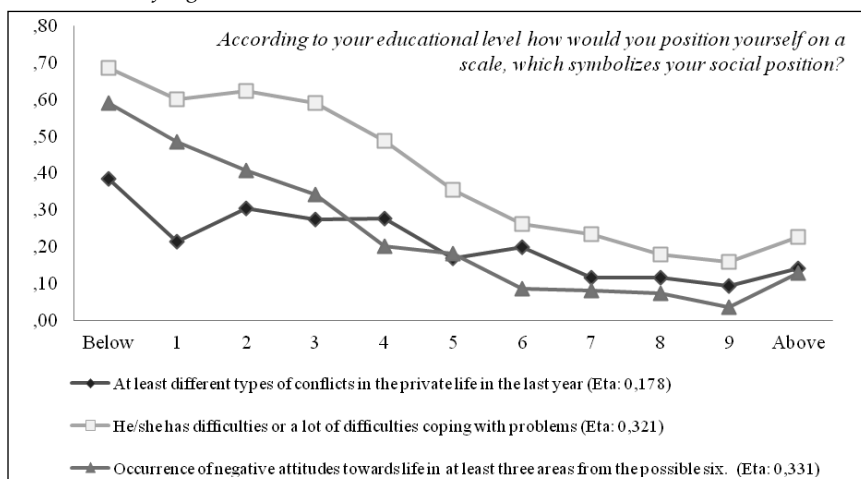
As a summary, the behaviour of the three conflict indicators has been examined from the aspect, where the test person positioned himself/herself on a 10-grade scale according to his/her educational background, position at work and financial condition. The probability occurrence of problem and conflict indicators will be examined at each grade of the social stratification, based on a certain kind of self-classification (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Correlation between the social status, based on self-classification, and the occurrence of conflict indicators, proportion of YES answers, 1 = 100%



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Continuation of Figure 14...



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

The negative, close, linear correlation between the status in the social ladder and some aspects of private problems and conflicts is clearly visible at all three “symbolical scales” and at all of the three conflict indicators. In the lower segments of the social structure, especially in the lower one fifth, complex conflict situations and challenges with many problems simultaneously, occur more frequently. Furthermore, because of the accumulation of problems, the persons concerned can cope with problems only with difficulties or with a lot of difficulties in everyday life. These unfavourable conditions influence them in the judgement of their life situation, in form of negative attitudes, such as pessimism, dissatisfaction, helplessness, the state of believing to be ignored or despised.

The correlation system above is logical and seems probably even trivial, but with empirical tools, the depth and complexity of this problem area and the extreme conditions present could hopefully be demonstrated. These extreme conditions, as it seems, tear apart the texture of the Hungarian society, not only in the financial dimension, but they also generate conflict situations, unfavourable mental concepts and emotional conditions in everyday life. Also from these relations it is clearly visible that these problems are essential parts of the social wealth and a close correlation can be observed between the two groups of incidents. Therefore, the integration of such kind of examination of quality of life in the measuring of wealth is of crucial importance. Thus, after the examination of the classical so-

cio-demographic determination, it is worthwhile to examine also the correlations between the wealth indicators and the variables of everyday problems and conflicts, in more detail.

6. Correlation between conflict load and wealth

There is presumably a correlation between the problems of private life, social-relations and the different dimensions of wealth, in which both appearances are causes and consequences at the same time. A lower level of wealth will clearly generate tensions and problems in everyday life, in the micronet texture of social life. These results will clearly be enhanced by the social determination relations, which were presented above, especially in the hard, objective dimensions of well-being (e.g. educational background, occupational position, financial situation, social status). In this analysis the occurrence and connections of negative attitudes toward life refers to the lack of subjective well-being. The significant relationships were also in this case convincingly visible. Lack or a less favourable condition of well-being increases definitely such conflicts and problems.

In this phase of the analysis the approach of the connection system is from the other point of view: answers for the questions will be examined, to see to what extent the occurrence and the increasing of the intensity of different conflict indicators will harm the well-being indices (for the question of development and content of the indices, the methodological chapter of the book delivers important facts). Thus, the following questions arise: Are the indicators of well-being in those households less favourable, in which problems of private life and social-relationships can be identified? What is the impact of complexity of problems on the well-being? Are the indicators of well-being significantly worse in case of households with increased load? If yes, what is the extent of these differences?

The development of the four indices of well-being (objective, subjective, residential, relating to health) have been examined with variance analysis, as a function of composition and intensity of conflict load in the private life, and in the social network of the test person. The average values of the four aggregated, standardized values of well-being have been compared to the categories of three conflict variables (complexity of conflicts in private life, complexity of relationship conflicts, intensity of difficulty of coping with problems) with ordinal measurement levels. In the question „on whom can you count with different problems“ no significant correla-

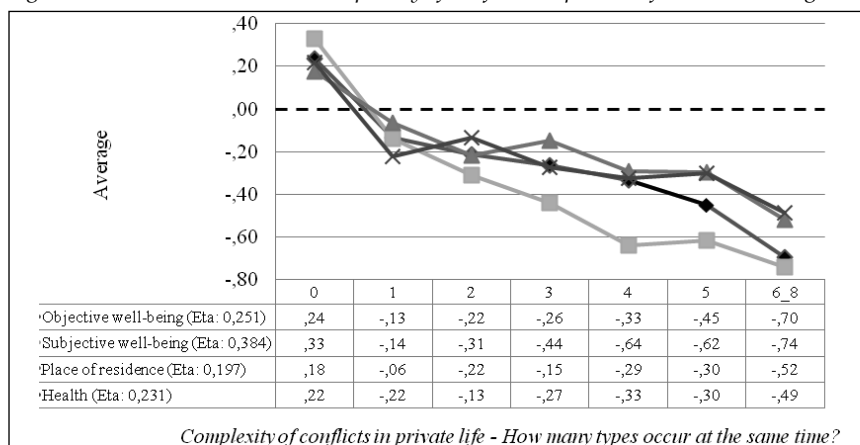
tion can be observed, therefore the presentation of this will be left out of consideration and the question "occurrence of negative attitudes toward life", is a part of the variable subjective well-being (in form of lack of negative attitudes toward life).

The categories in an extreme position with a small number of elements have been drawn together (e.g. problems, which occur at the type of relationships 5-10, are one group, because of the low number of elements). As a result of standardization, the average value of the well-being indicators is zero. The positive sign indicates a feature, which is better than average and the negative sign implies a less favourable feature. The results are summarized on three figures (Figures 15-17), where our primary purpose is to demonstrate the direction and slope of the correlation as best as possible.

In the context of conflicts and problems the four variables of well-being do not behave equally. In the dimensions of satisfaction with their place of residence and health condition no significant correlation can be observed, or the correlation is very weak. This correlation is not surprising, since challenges, problems and conflict situations on the level of everyday life are not connected very closely with the health conditions or the place of residence and the extent of satisfaction with this living environment. On the contrary, with the two most important components (objective and subjective well-being) there is a significant, one-way, negative, linear differentiation, which appears in the average values of indices at each of the three conflict variables. The other common point is that in each case, the strongest association index number can be observed regarding the indicator for subjective well-being. The indices of subjective well-being are lower and lower along the appearance of problems, the connection of conflicts and the more and more increasing difficulties of coping with problems.

Regarding the eight types of conflicts the first crucial "break" is at the distinction between occurring – not occurring. This can be illustrated on the figure with the first steep fall after the point 0. It is clearly visible that the appearance of problems pushes the well-being indicators below average. From here on, as the problem system becomes more and more heterogeneous and as more and more different types of conflict situations are accumulated on each other, the group averages of the well-being indices are shifted in a worse and worse range. All four indices are moving together, but the behaviour of the subjective well-being is the most sensitive one.

Figure 15: Correlation between complexity of conflicts in private life and well-being

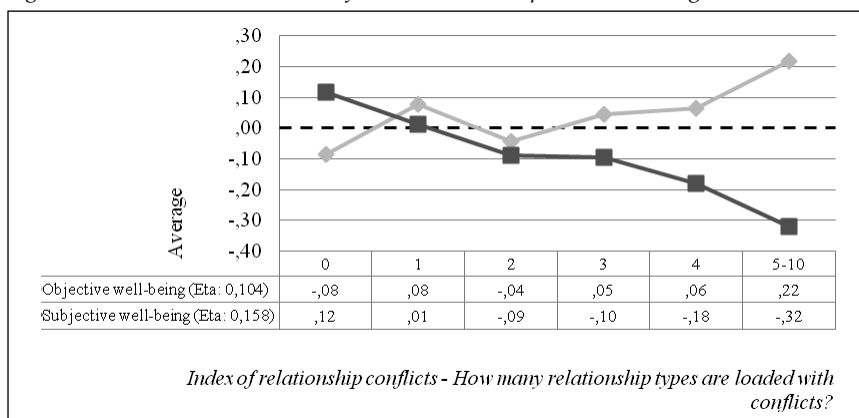


Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

For three problem-types (losing job, problems with earning money and living, difficulty of larger investments and expenses) from the possible nine, there is a very close connection with the living dimension of well-being. Therefore, as a control, the variance analysis has also been executed without these three items. In this case, the work is carried out through the following six forms: household tasks; works to do at home; splitting housework in the family; individual ambitions; pushing desires into the background; problems arising from learning or educating children; health problems, illnesses; problems arising from maintaining contact with family members and relatives and from the obligations towards them; partnership problems. The tendencies have not been changed in this case either, only the association indices have been decreased slightly. The appearance and accumulation of non-financial problems of private life also has a negative impact on the indicators of well-being.

In the case of the heterogeneity indicator of conflicts based on relationships (Figure 16), it has no significant impact on the two indices of well-being (dimensions health and place of residence) and parallel to this a new tendency also arises in the trends. In connection with the index of objective well-being, a positive correlation can be observed. The reason for this is that at groups with a more favourable educational background and financial situation, the relational capital is also generally higher and more complex. Nevertheless, also for the appearance and for the accumulation of relationship conflicts a many-sided connection system is required.

Figure 16: Correlation between conflicts in relationships and well-being

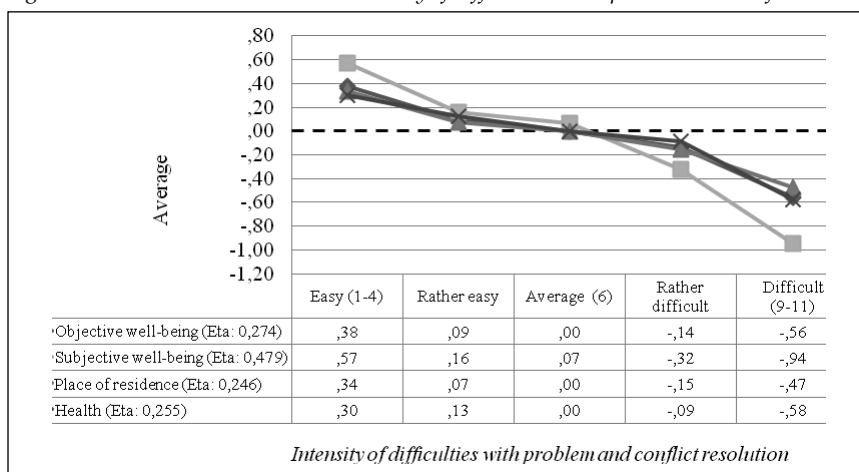


Explanation: In the case of health and place of residence dimensions, no significant relationship can be observed.

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

As a whole, the differentiation of the indicators as a function of the relationship variable is much smaller and no such significant negative effect can be observed as with the previous variable. On the other hand, the subjective indicator of well-being behaves according to the expectations: the average value of the index at each group deteriorates proportionally to the increase of the number of relationship conflicts.

Figure 17: Correlation between the intensity of difficulties with problem and conflict resolution



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

As it was seen before, the difficulty of coping with challenges in everyday life can be seen in itself as a challenge. The difficulties of coping with problems are causes and consequences of such situations and conditions. From the data it is apparent that the higher the challenge of coping with problems and conflicts is, the lower the group averages of indices of well-being are. Those persons, who can cope with problems in their life easily or rather easily, can be characterized by indicators of well-being above average. Whereas, those who think that these tasks are rather difficult or really difficult, have the least favourable average points for well-being.

7. Summary

The purpose of this study was, being aware of the limits of the method of a questionnaire survey, to enlighten the depth, complexity and those extreme conditions, which apparently tear apart the texture of the Hungarian society, not only in the financial dimension, but they also generate conflict situations, unfavourable mental concepts and emotional conditions in everyday life.

Financial challenges in connection with living can be regarded as the primary factor of conflicts and problems, which appear in the everyday life of the population. Most people are faced with problems in connection with earning money, with larger investments and expenses and also with the risk of losing their job. Surprisingly on the other hand is the occurrence probability of conflicts, based on relationships. Considering all forms of relationships, two-thirds of the population has not reported about tensions or problems in this area. In fact, the relations in connection with the world of work and the interactions in the partnership are loaded with conflicts in the highest proportion. The most stable relationships develop in forms of interactions based on tight, strong bonds with friends, children and brothers and sisters. There is a really simple logic regarding the primary supporting relationships and the private and public supports, which play a role in solving and mitigating conflicts: most people can count either on the support of their narrow environment (family, friends) or on themselves. Regarding the mental condition of the population, really unfavourable phenomena have been found. One-fifth, or in some cases even one-quarter, of the test persons reported some kind of negative attitudes toward life, 17 percent felt ignored and 12 percent thought that he/she is despised because of his/her job, income or quality of life. The individual conflict

indicators can also be connected to each other. The most obvious correlation can be observed between the ability to deal with problems and the complexity of the problems. Among those, who have difficulties coping with the challenges of everyday life, the proportion of occurrence of a complex problem system is twice as high. Similarly convincing is the relationship between the social relationship system loaded with conflicts and the accumulation of problems.

The results make it clear that even though it is not necessarily true that "money does not make you happy", a more favourable social status decreases the challenges of everyday life. The occurrence of primary conflict resources within the population is significantly moderated by a higher education level, occupation as a university/college graduate and more favourable financial circumstances.

It can be clearly seen that the potential for coping with problems, at the poorer groups with a lower social status and education is alarmingly bad. In the lowest group, with a magnitude of one fifth of the society, 60-80 percent of the test persons have a lot of difficulties coping with problems and conflicts in their everyday life and perceive their situation, in fact, hopeless.

Also related to unfavourable mood, which can be described in connection to negative attitudes toward life, a similar context system can be observed. Lower education level, lack of partnership, loneliness, low level of manual work and especially unfavourable living circumstances significantly increase the negative judgement of their own life situation, the perspectives and the chance in life, the social esteem and approval.

The close, negative, linear relationship between the position on the social ladder and certain conditions of problems in private life and conflicts is clearly visible. In the lowest segments of the social structure, especially in the last fifth, there are much more complex conflict situations and challenges, resulting from simultaneous problems. Furthermore, because of the accumulation of problems, the persons concerned have difficulties or a lot of difficulties coping with problems in everyday life, and these unfavourable conditions have an impact on the judgement of their own opportunities in life.

The Characteristics of Well-being from the Perspective of Spatial-Social Attachments and Social Relationships

ZOLTÁN BUGOVICS

1. Introduction

The research attempts to make statements with the elements of the well-being index about social relationships according to the social-spatial attachment, which can also serve with explanations for social conflicts. The starting point is the spatial category belonging to communities, assuming the validity of the old principle according to which space is a social construction. Thus, attachment to space means actually belonging to communities, extended with the presence of a few geographical or natural elements or even with the elements of the built environment. Besides the theoretical background of the attachment, the study starts at the narrowed index of well-being, used in the research, in which the satisfaction, the positive emotions and the lack of negative emotions were taken as a basis and as such it also includes the feeling of happiness. With the application of the well-being index, the study tries to analyse the characteristics of conflicts related to spatial categories as well. Another important aspect of this approach is the trust, since it is a factor, which serves in the stability of communities and it can also explain the qualitative aspect of commitments to the communities.

2. Theoretical background

Although, the characteristics of modernizing societies, which begin the postmodern way of living, are different, but certainly the elements of the common sets can also be found, among which for example the following terms can be emphasized: fragmenting identity, identity conflicts, individualization, weakening of attachments, value conflicts, disintegration of communities...etc. (Erikson, 1959), (Goffman 1991), (Castells, 1997), (Bendle, 2002) (Beck, 2003). At the same time, these indicate that in our age the

possibility of choosing values for the individuals has broadened. All these also strengthen the phenomenon that value choices are accompanied by the rearrangement and revaluation of conflicts, attachments and identities and create new types of problems, which broaden the field of characteristics of the postmodern society.

According to Tönnies the root of the individual relations can be apprehended – also considering the theory of community – in the relationships mother-child and man-woman as spouses and siblings. In the first case, the relation can be maintained by habit and memory, in the second besides habit, the affection to the children and generally to the property and estate is crucial and in the third case the memory “contributes the most to the creation, maintenance and strengthening of bonds between the hearts” (Tönnies, 2004).

Belonging to a community is not only an acceptance, but at the same time also exclusion. It can be connected here with the post-structuralist trend of the identity, according to which identity and territoriality are not existing in themselves, they can only be interpreted from the perspective of social life and power, in the system of acceptance and exclusion as an equivalent to the own group and the other group (Goffman, 1991).

Dating from the political transformation, a social transformation has begun, in which new identities occurred in the relations of new communities. The consequences of this for a decade were summarized by Hankiss: The results are „the big disappointment“, „the chaotic relations“, „the indifference“ and „the cynicism“. He explains „relating to the impatience of elementary power“ that “we are running after our missing or existing money, we are running from one job to another, we are running after the unachievable western standard of living, we are running a race with our competitors, we are running, because we have lost forty-five years, because we are behind the West, we are running, because it is good to run, because the televisions broadcast the speed and the myth of devouring and rushing life; we are running, because we have to fulfil ourselves every minute...” (Hankiss, 2002). The civilisation deficit, which arises from the insufficiencies of the institutional level, from the corruption and the deficit in modernization, which makes the cooperation more difficult on the level of each person, since each interaction is considered as a zero sum game by the people, instead of realizing that the benefit of others can be profitable also for themselves and accordingly endeavouring cooperation. Lack of cooperation is also a big deficit in the behaviour of the Hungarian people. The lack of tolerance or the daily routine of violating the rules of behaviours

also belong here. The loss of trust is also a problem field to emphasize, as well as the situation of social cohesion: „the lack of social integration and cohesion in such an extent makes functioning of a real democracy in principle impossible“. Finally comes the question of the civil society, which he qualifies as poor, although “this is one of the most important requirements of good functioning of a democracy” (Hankiss, 2002).

One of the major functions of collective identity is to offer safety by “filling the world around the individual with meaning and ensuring communication within the community” and ensuring such a collective knowledge, by which “he/she does not need to formulate the meaning of all experienced things again and again [...]. Individual and collective identities are mutually dependent from each other.” And as a conclusion it can be declared that the “collective identities protect their meanings”. This is enforced through such mechanisms, which make the complete reception of foreign attitudes impossible; increase the ego consciousness by exclusion of uncertainties and enable the “enforcement of the disposing capacity” of the individual. However, “our increasing interest in the immaterial world means a danger, primarily for the different identities” (György Schöpflin, 2004).

It can act as a cementing force, if considering identity as a kind of attachment narrative and the “societies are looking for narratives, which keep together and give stability especially during changes”. However, the new technologies with the development of new networks during the changes caused by the globalisation “weaken the national cohesion und strengthen the particularism”. This is the postmodern social phenomenon, which can be paralleled with the concept of „liquid modernity“, which can also be found in the concept of fluidity and liquid space. The main point of this is that the individuals consider themselves as part of a larger community because of the relativization of the space (in the space, which was transformed by the communication and transport technologies). Examples for this can be the phenomenon that the spatial categories, which are crossed by the internet or by the cellular phone “become liquid” and a consequence of these “the essentials of the term relevant community” undergo a transformation. The issue here is already about the postmodern or liquid characteristics of the term community expressed by Tönnies, in which the quasi character of community will be expressed by the disintegration of space. Thus, this approach describes a gloomy future about the disintegration of national identity, adding that with the new technologies, quasi communities or as he calls them “fictive communities” will be born (Price, Monroe E., 1998).

In fact, the identity shows in our age a more fragmented picture, where all the manifestations of identity in different life situations are related to collective relationships. However, these communities are less human groups, which can be indicated in the traditional way, but loose communities, are palpable in quasi, liquid and postmodern networks.

Manuel Castells has generally formulated plausible statements, analysing the postmodern, according to the characteristics of the architecture: „the postmodernism is nothing different, as the almost immediate expression of the new dominant ideology: according to these the end of history is here and it is time for dethronement of the positions in the space of streams [...]. Since it does not belong any more to any kind of loyalties and cultures, the extreme version of postmodernism enforces its own codified logic of decoding on everything [...]. Behind the liberation from the domination of the cultural codes, in fact the flight from the societies with historical roots is hidden. From this perspective, the postmodernism can be regarded as the architecture of the floating space“. According to his conclusions our age is characterized in the case of „social interactions and organisations“ by the domination of “cultural patterns”, be it about technologies, mass media or even architecture. „For that very reason the information is a component of crucial importance to our social organisation and the streaming of messages and pictures are the connecting threads of our social structure among the networks“. The new “form of existence” we live in is the information society, in which basically not the material factor is dominant, but the autonomy of culture (Castells, Manuel, 2005). In this context, however – this is pointed out by Castells – the strengthening of alienation, isolation, fragmentation and separation can be observed, in which self-reflection gets a more and more broader space.

3. Well-being and attachment

Within the framework of examinations of social well-being usually economic, social inequality and deprivation factors are examined. This time, however, - in a not quite common way – this approach makes an attempt to analyse also the relationship between social trust and satisfaction, using the criteria of social identity. This inspiration has to be explained by referring to many publications. First Anssi Paasi has to be mentioned, who interprets the appearance of the spatial awareness of identity alongside the conceptualization of the regional identity, as the social cohesion of

many kinds of spatial conceptions (Paasi, 2009). However, the realization of this conceptualization can only be imagined by a social agreement, in the case of existence of a common concept. Also an important element is the so called Stiglitz Report, which emphasizes the importance of the subjective evaluation of life of the individual for the measurement of well-being, including the scale of emotional characteristics. Furthermore, this report also emphasizes that the quantitative assessment of these elements is a highly recommended method of measuring of the factor of well-being (Stiglitz, 2009). A basis of this research is the analysis of agglomeration areas, the analysis of their competitiveness, which was carried out with the lead of Viktória Szirmai and in which important connections were equally discovered about social characteristics, inequalities and economic factors (Szirmai, 2009).

The analysis of the empirical data can be established with the relations of the spatial categories, since these also can be regarded as reference points in the mirror of the previously mentioned theories. The spatial-categories of attachment can be summarized within the cover of the spatial identity according to the following; considering the conclusions of Paasi (Paasi, 2009).

The role of attachment and affiliation is dominant – especially in the process of spontaneous identity formation.

Antal Bóhm has emphasized in his researches in the eighties that the two main categories of spatial attachments are the national and the local level and according to the researches, after the political transformation, the attachment to the localities has increased further and it has increased the emergence of this spatial element through self-governance as a kind of identity revelation (Bugovics, 2014, Pathy, 2014, Tóth-Ditrói, 2014).

At the analysis of attachments and social conflicts in the geographical space, it is important to mention the fact, which spatial categories can be considered as spatial elements, which can be taken into account as a social construction.

The official statistical territorial division of NUTS¹ has been used for the territorial division only as a basis of comparison and the economic-cultural-historical characteristics of the Hungarian researches have been primarily used.

According to these, the following territorial units will be connected to the spatial elements of the social identity:

¹ Nomenclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques - NUTS I-V.

- neighbourhood – street
- settlement (locality)
- area/district
- county/region
- part of the country (e.g. Transdanubia or North Transdanubia)
- country (equivalent to the category national identity)
- Central Europe / East-Central Europe
- Europe

Relatively lots of levels have been chosen, so that the persons questioned have the opportunity to make a distinction between the different levels according to the elements of attachment.

Goffman has pointed out for example, examining the everyday phenomenon presentation of me, that a sphere can be found in the homes, which is opened to the outside world, and a hidden, more secret back sphere, which is deeper in its intimacy. In this interpretation of spatiality the fact of being circumscribed is crucial (Goffman,1981). Neighbourhood and street are the categories, where the conflicts of the individuals can appear, creating a social dimension as the source of tension, cooperation or even hostility, as a community or the lack of it.

Previous researches have emphasized that the locality as settlement is one of the most important determinants of the spatial identity (Bóhm A., 2000, Szoboszlai, 2003, Csepi, 2004), which can be shown, especially from the middle of the nineties, in empirical studies. Thus, locality plays a particularly emphasized role in this study, especially as a perspective, which can be analysed as litmus test paper of communal conflicts.

The circumscriptions of area and district are broad categories of relations, they are legally not agreeing aspects, though. Therefore, the questioned can decide according to his/her own judgement about the attachment to area or district. For that very reason, the questioned can decide independently about the actual definition of the category because a lot of things depend on the historical, cultural and social background of his/her identity.

The categories county and region as a factor of analyses appear in the analysis in a contracted form and the attachment of the individuals to the middle level has been analysed as a general formula. At the same time, it is worth mentioning that the county system is not just a legal-administrative category, but it also became culturally and economically a determinant factor in the last thousand years – in spite of the fact that the counties have also been modified territorially, they have overcome some fusions and renaming by the time they have attained their current form. However,

nowadays the county became an administrative level, which is neither small enough (to wander through it and to grasp it), neither is it big enough to form an appropriate unit for regional development.

With the state-wide or national level, the attachment to Hungary as a territory will be evaluated, which is to be understood as a whole organic unit of a country or even as a national-ideological category.

In the case of the European, as a continental, attachment a general cultural-historical category has been represented. There was no reference to the European Union, but the questioned persons could handle this aspect freely, that is, they could answer as a political interpretation at the selection of this category. It can be pointed out at the analysis of the European identity that according to the historical perspective and the future goals a strengthening should be assumed.

As it can be seen, the list contains many such kinds of spatial categories, which are from the scientific perspective „soft“, but are still important because of the spatial identity examination, just in order to avoid the unpreparednesses resulting from the “imperfections” of the statistical classifications and from the unexpected territorial names. However, it is important that the right for all spatial categories to exist will be defined on a social base, that is, the spatial structure approached on the base of social identity is the object of the study. The aim of this study is to examine the characteristics of the connection between the attachment to these spatial categories and an index of well-being by taking the sketch of an analysis model as a basis (Analysis model 1). This model indicates that besides the elements of the used index of well-being (satisfaction, lack of negative emotions, positive emotions) the conflicts also will be compared with the extent of attachments to spatial categories.

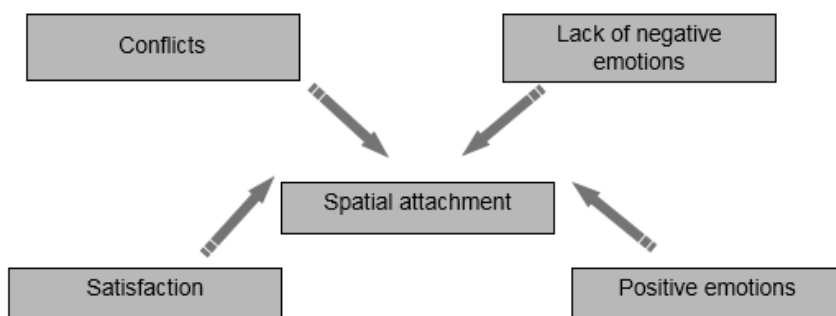
Approaching this topic from the perspective of the conflict analysis, the answers will be analysed and evaluated in the relations of private and social conflicts, the values of happiness and satisfaction and the attachment. The extent of trust between the inhabitants of the examined spatial categories and the sample area of the attachment is an important category, which has to be emphasized especially and which contains the qualitative values of the social relationship.

Attachment means from the perspective of the social relationship not only a commitment, identity or affection towards space, but also a belonging to a community. Thus, it represents an attitude, which can be interpreted as a part of the social relations, which can also be enlightened

certainly from the perspective of the relationship with the relatives or the neighbourhood relationship.

The major categories of space, which will be examined in this study are: a) neighbourhood, which means the living environment of the individual, b) settlement, which means the residence of the individual, be it a big city or a village, c) area or district, which covers an area smaller than a county d) the region, which does not necessarily mean the official regional division according to NUTS, but it can mean those spatial units, which can be classified from the perspective of the Hungarian history-policy in this middle category, be it a county or a part of the country or a region, which results in identification (Bugovics 2007), e) nation, which represents the symbolics of the country, even in a geographical-social sense, and finally f) the European level, which symbolises primarily not the EU, but the European geographical- historical-political space.

Figure 1. Analysis model



Source: own work

4. Results of the examination

The attachment patterns can show the character of conflicts, which affect the social relationships, be it an issue regarding relatives, economic, living environment or even trust or lack of trust, by developing a kind of order.

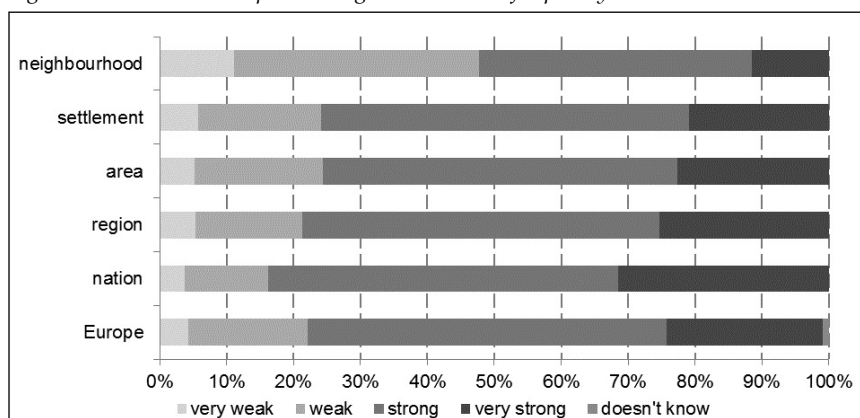
4.1. Patterns of space and attachment

Considering the various, examined aspects beginning with the extent of attachment towards spatial categories. The results show that a strong attachment characteristic, contrary to the weak values, is valid, regarding frequency, with the different level of attachment types, such as settlement,

area, region (county), nation and Europe. If from these data of frequency, the weak and very weak pairs will be compared with the strong and very strong attachment patterns, then the values of the attachment to settlement, region and nation have to be especially emphasized, according to the n-values (Figure 2).

In the category of neighbourhood, the weak attachment is remarkably high and in the other spatial categories the low attachment values are minimal. In the other spatial categories the strong attachments are significant, but the weak data are also outnumbered by the very strong attachment patterns. It is an important basis for further analysis of the data, whether the weak value of attachment in the category neighbourhood covers conflicts or it mirrors only the weak attachment to this spatial element.

Figure 2: Attachment to spatial categories and their frequency:



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Table 1: Number of elements, average and standard deviation from the perspective of attachment

	Attachment to neighbourhood	Attachment to settlement	Attachment to area	Attachment to region	Attachment to nation	Attachment to Europe
N	2030	2030	2029	2028	2030	2030
Average	2.55	2.92	2.94	3.00	3.13	3.03
Std. Dev,	.909	.807	.823	.845	.823	.959

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

If starting the examination from the division according to various aspects, it is advisable first to enlighten the problem area with the summarized

data. Therefore, categories like settlement environment, social relations, happiness and satisfaction, as general statements, will be highlighted, in order to find characteristic values, with which subsequently deeper analyses can be carried out, and to find relationships to be proven. Here it can be found that the importance of social relationships significantly determines the extent of attachment to each spatial category. Obviously, the nature of social relationships includes, in this case, both the specific human relations and the national or even European spirit of the ideological relatedness but the determinant nature of the social aspect seems to be a crucial force in the relation of spatial attachments. It is worth making it clear at this point that the space, as a social construction, assumes a complicated network of human relationships and therefore attachment is not to be understood as an area remote from everyday life but as an environment attributed with human relations.

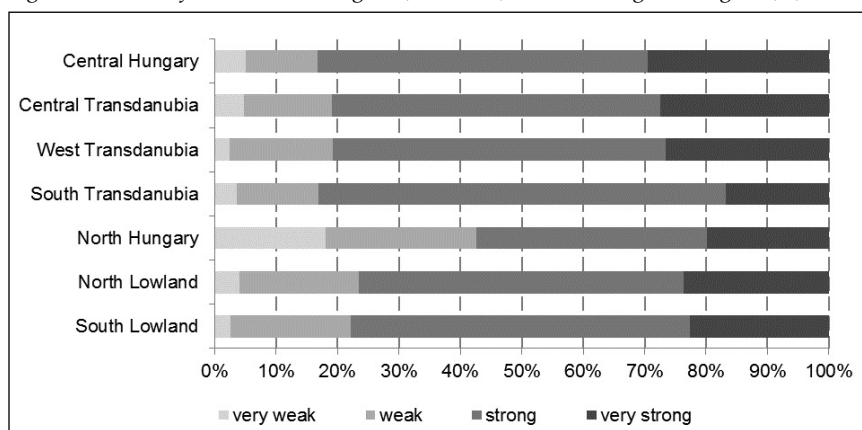
In case of the regions in Hungary, an interesting characteristic can be found, if taking the values of attachment to regions as a basis. The attachment values of the North Hungarian region are significantly different from those of the other regions, both according to the percentage and the average values (Table 2, Figure 2). Considering strong attachment, the attachment value is much lower in this region and the relatively high values of a very weak attachment are also striking, compared to the other regions. According to these, it can be said that in the North Hungary region, lower attachments to the region can be observed. At the same time, the strong and very strong attachment values are mainly characteristic in the other regions. The characteristically weak attachment values are typical especially in the areas Central Hungary (Budapest) and Transdanubia.

Table 2: Average values of attachment to region (N)

Region	Mean	N
Southern Lowland	3.00	268
Southern Transdanubia	2.98	193
Northern Lowland	2.98	299
Northern Hungary	2.70	228
Central Transdanubia	3.11	228
Central Hungary	3.07	612
Western Transdanubia	3.06	200
Total	3.00	2028

Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013

Figure 3: Extent of attachment to region (NUTS II) in each Hungarian region (%)



(Significance: 0.000, $p < 0.01$, $F = 6.28$)

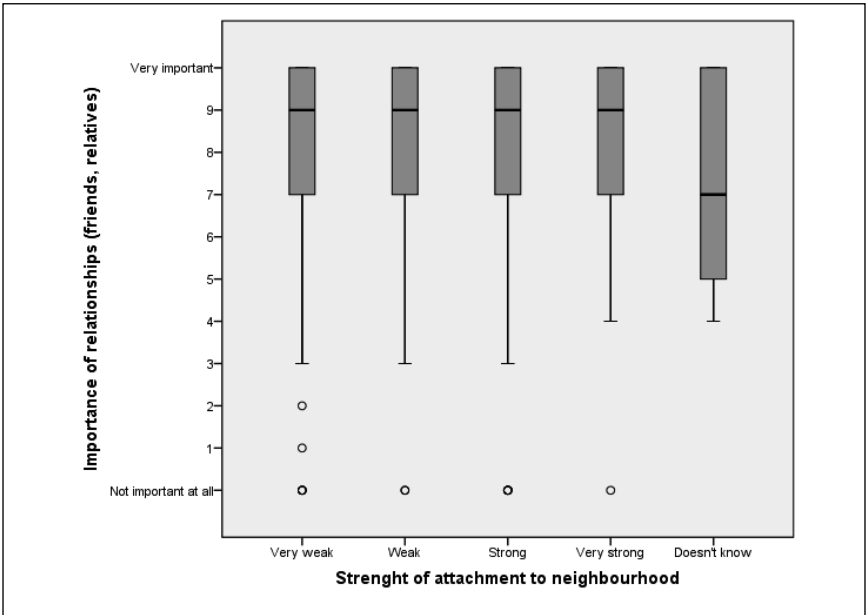
Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

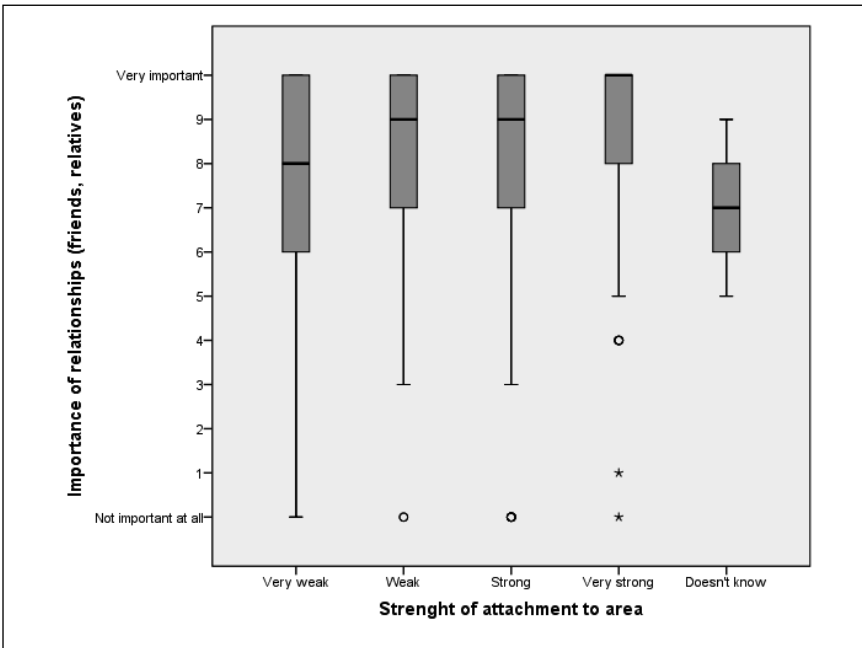
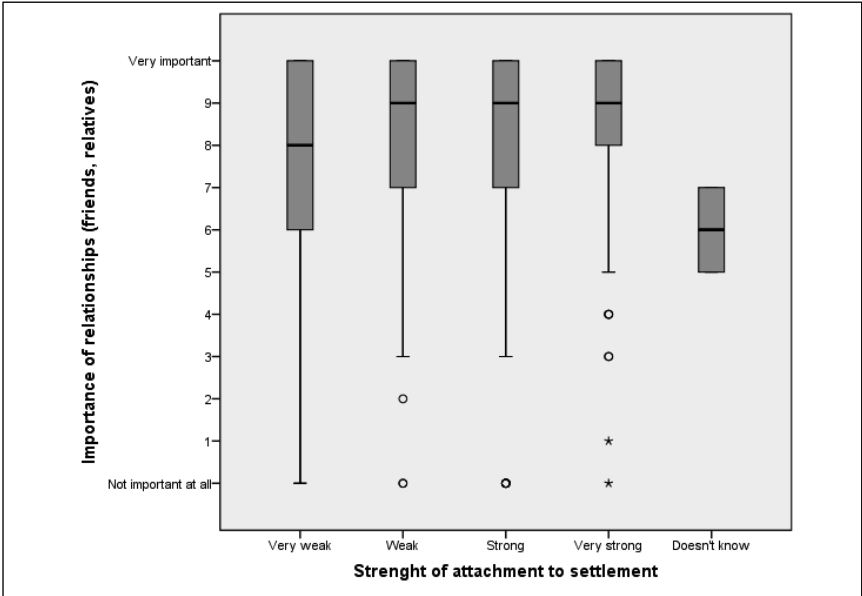
4.2. Satisfaction, happiness and attachment

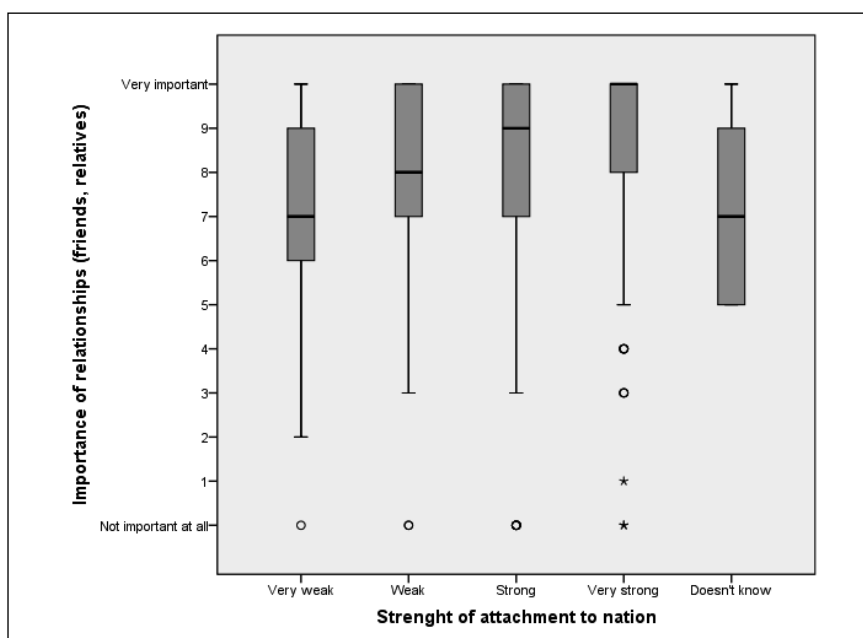
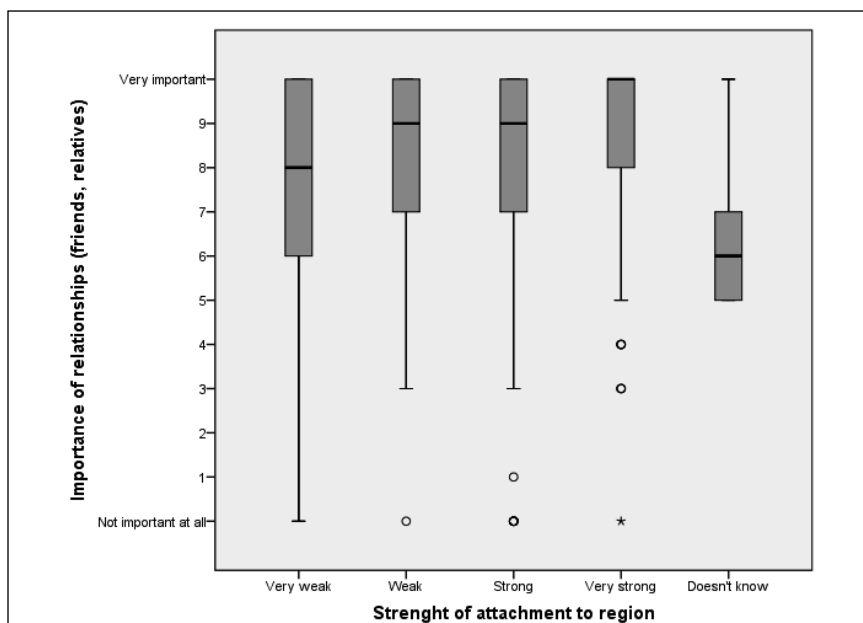
Certainly, also further elements can be highlighted, even if it would not be that spectacular. Also regarding the importance of the settlement environment, it can be said that in the categories attachment to neighbourhood and settlement, the factors attachment to area and the importance of environment mostly strengthen each other. When comparing the values of satisfaction and happiness with the values of spatial attachment in a similar way, the connection is not that obvious. It can be observed, both at happiness and satisfaction, that the extent of attachment to various spatial categories will be not maximized with the full involvement of these factors, on the contrary, it decreases. Though, it is a fact that unhappiness and dissatisfaction are accompanied by low attachment values (Figure 4-7). Considering the analysis in the background of the data of Figure 3, the significance is strong everywhere (sig.: 0.000, $p < 0.01$), except for the neighbourhood, where the values do not show such a correlation (sig.: 0.185, $p < 0.01$). According to the Eta values, which show the strength of the correlation, the strength of the connection is very low, the values explain only 5-10%. In Figure 4, strong significant correlations also can be found, the exception is the case of the neighbourhood (sig.: 0.02, $p < 0.01$) and the Eta value, which shows the strength of correlation, explains the strength of relationships also within broad limits, at an extent of 3-10%. Considering the fourth aspect, at the correlation of happiness and attachment also similar corre-

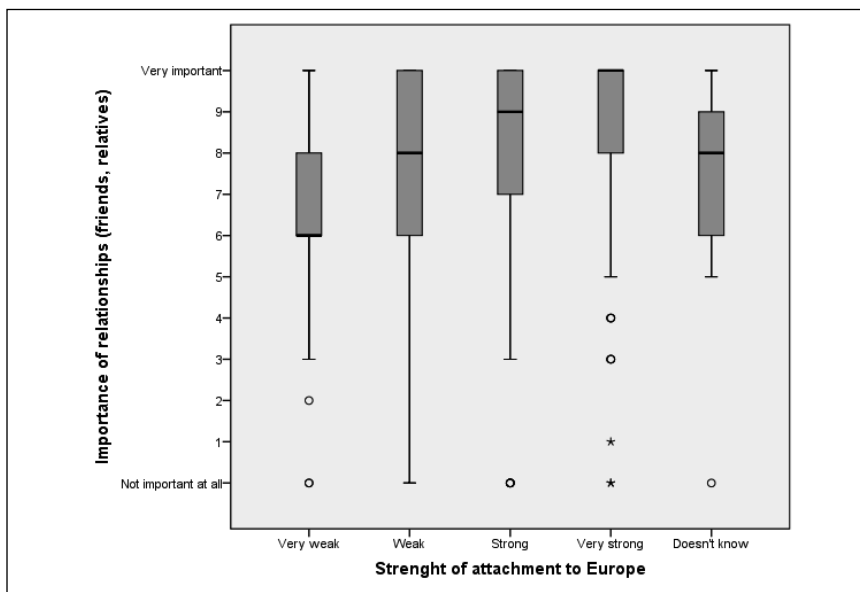
lations and explanations can be found. Apart the aspect attachment to the neighbourhood, significant correlations can be found everywhere (sig.: 0.00, $p < 0.01$), while the Eta value, which explains the strength of correlation, is between 1-10%. Finally, the previous results could be repeated also with the correlation of satisfaction and spatial attachment. All of these indicate that in the relation of spatial attachments similarly close correlations can be shown both in case of importance of social relationships, importance of residential environment and happiness as well as satisfaction. However, the neighbourhood is an exception and following an attempt will be made to explain this by examining these aspects separately.

Figure 4: Importance of social relationships considering socio-spatial attachment (N=2029) (See: Table 6)



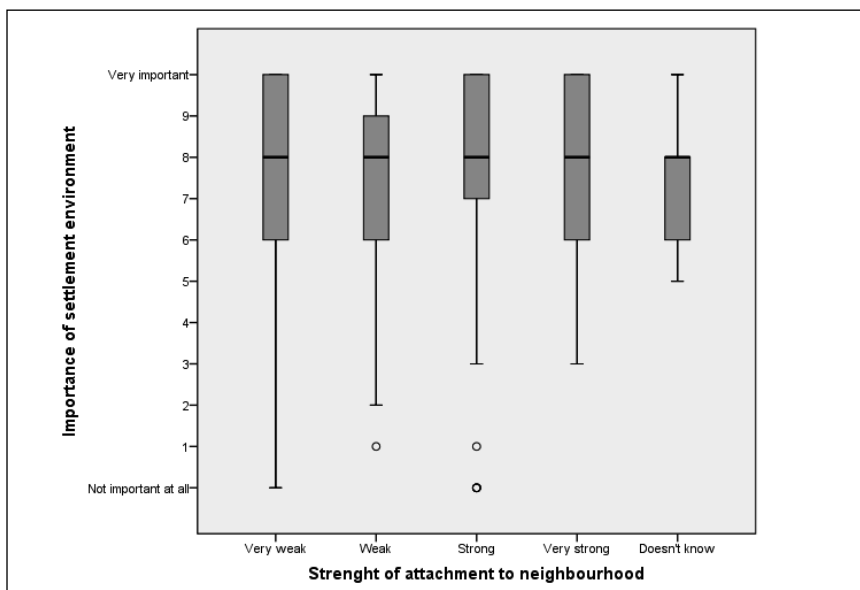


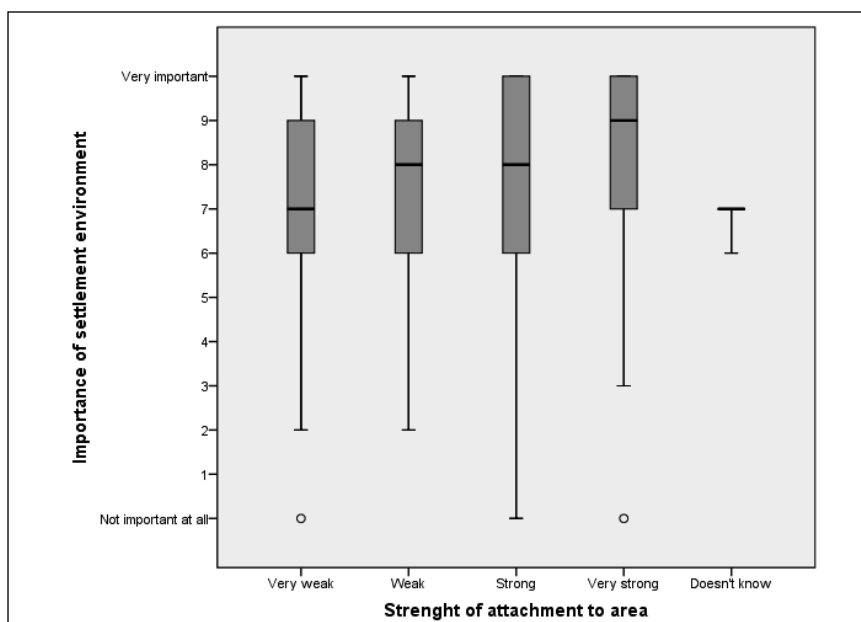
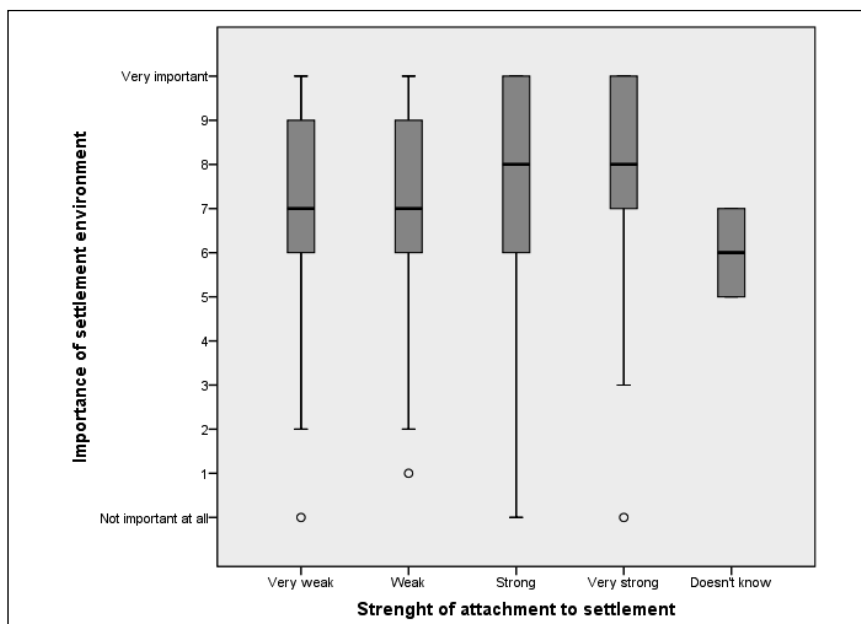




Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition (See: Table 6))

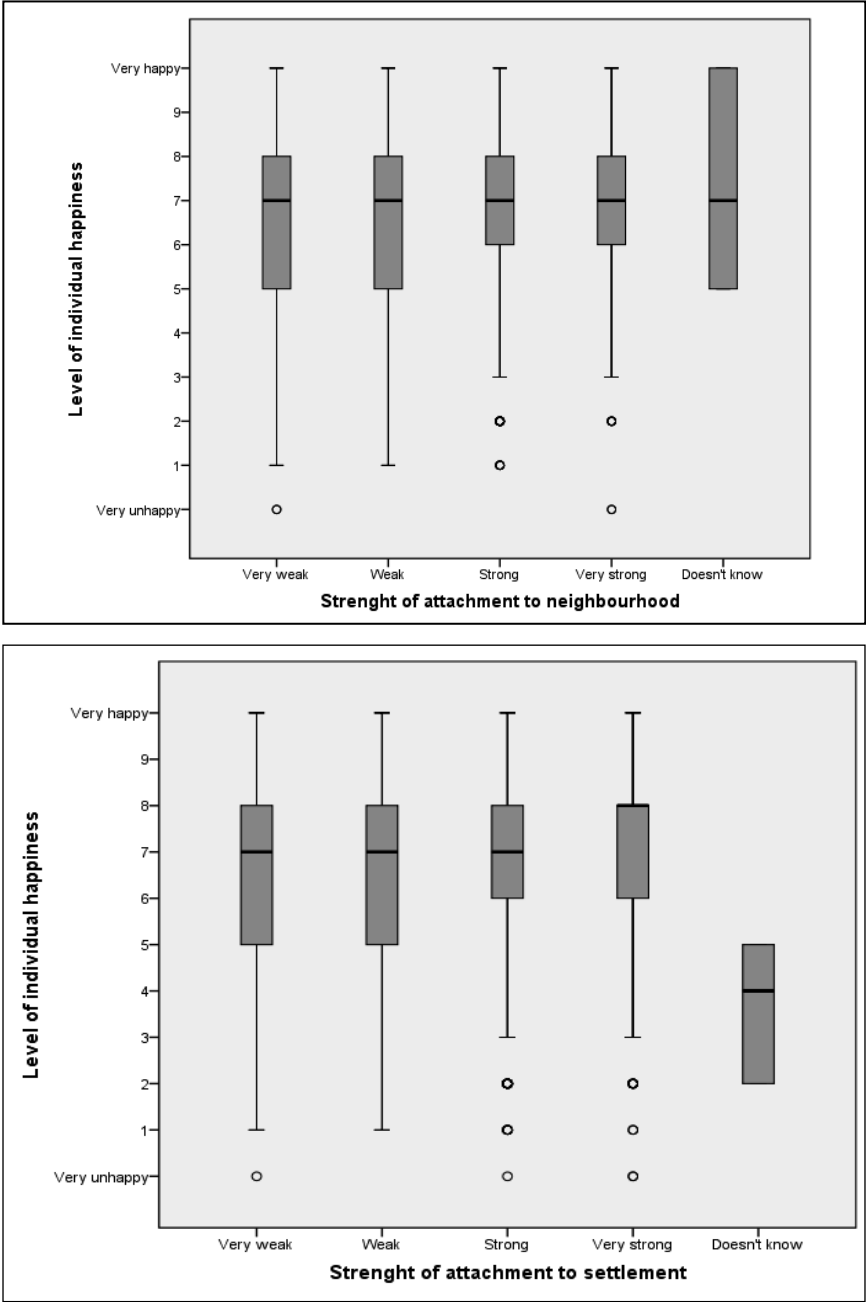
Figure 5: Importance of the settlement environment (built and natural) regarding attachment to neighbourhood, settlement and area (N=2029)

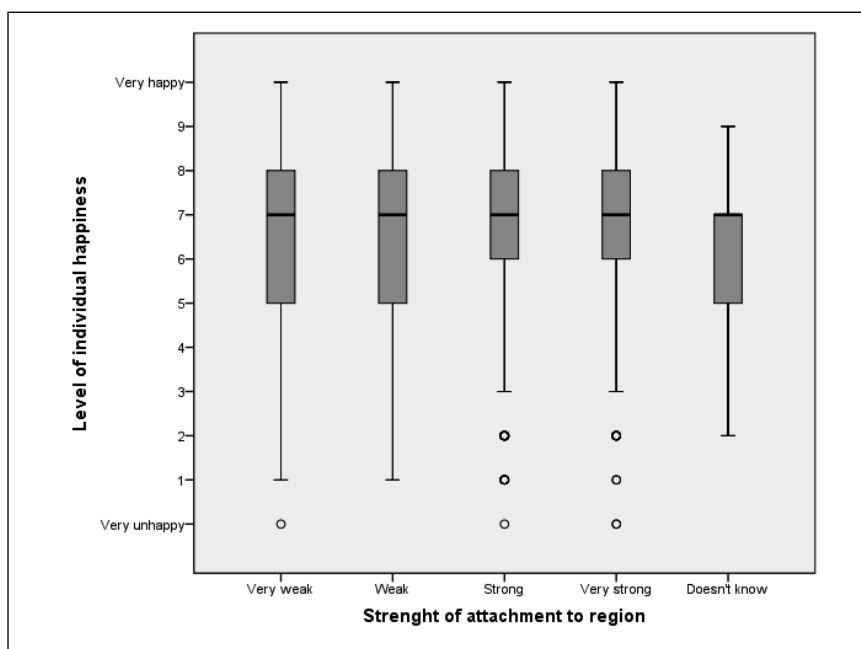
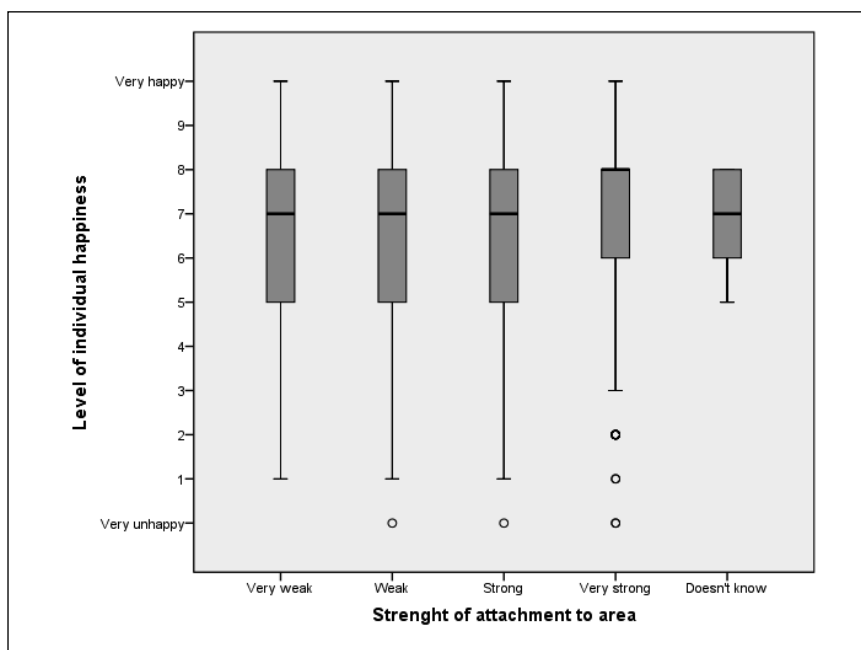


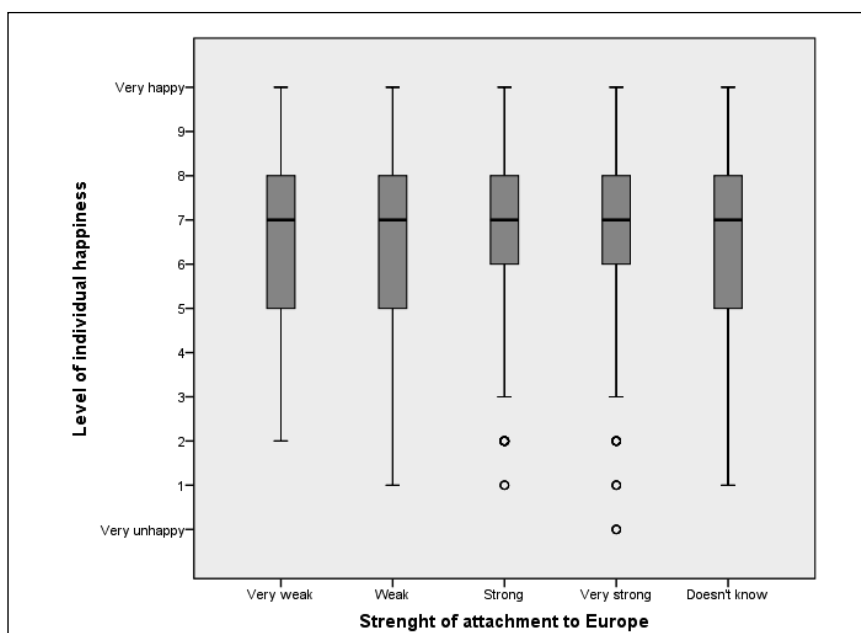
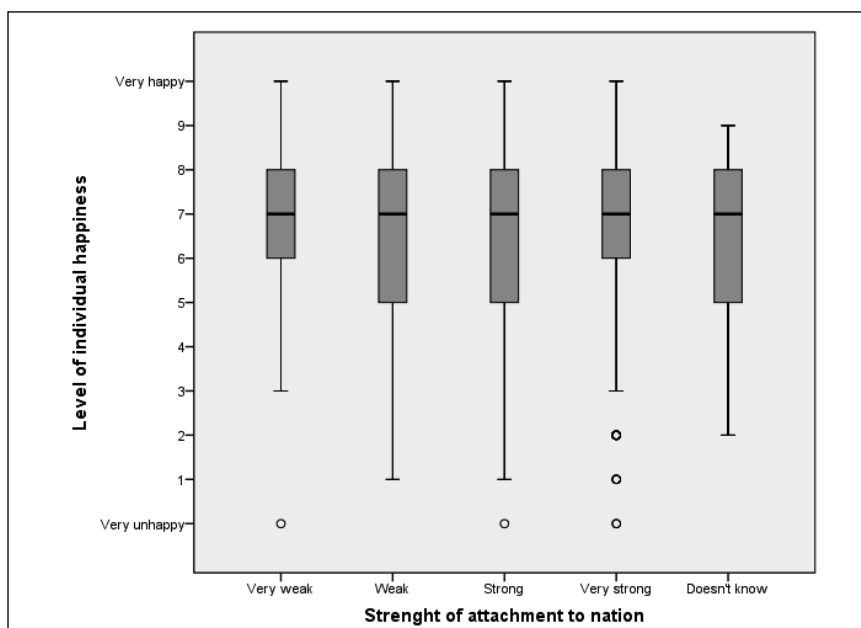


Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)
(See: Table 6)

Figure 6: Strength of happiness considering spatial attachments (N=2029)

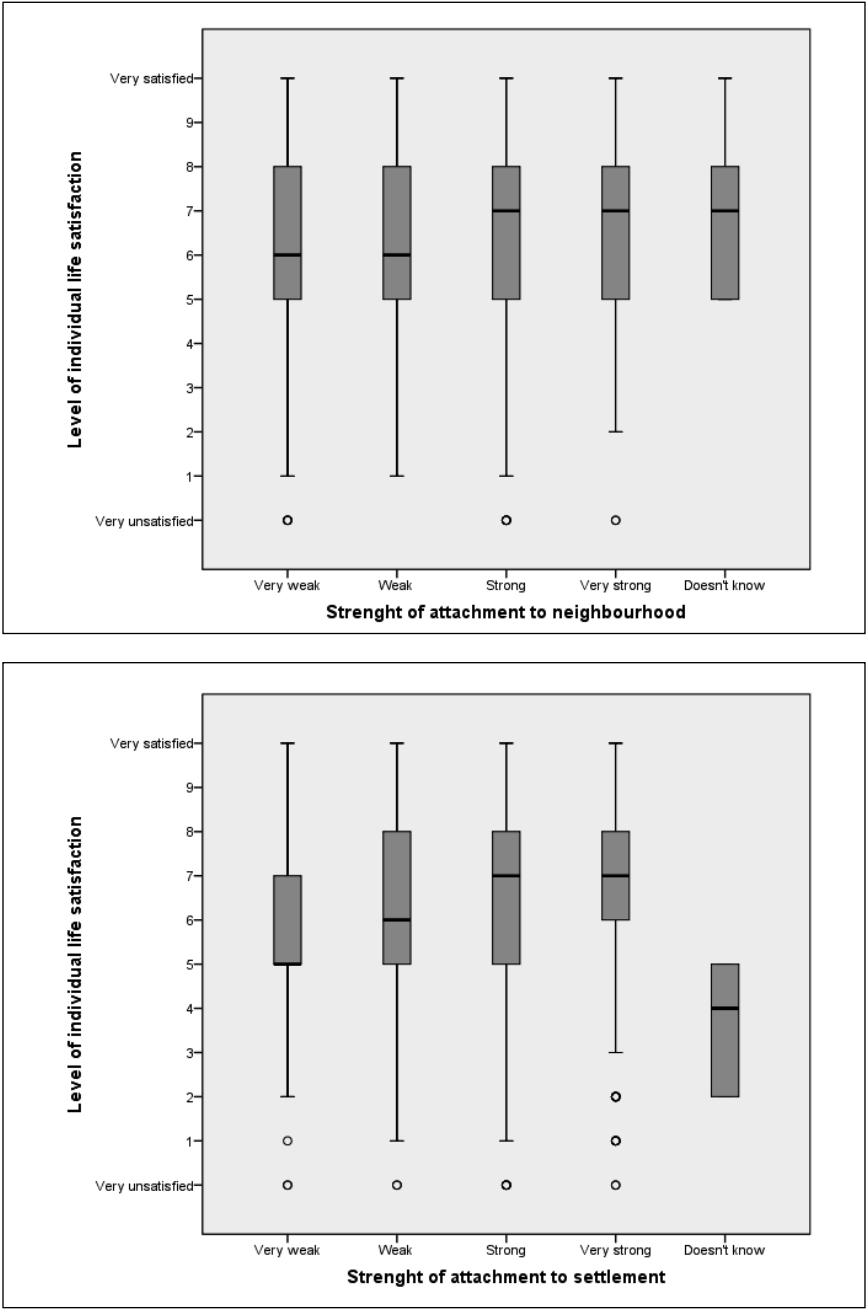


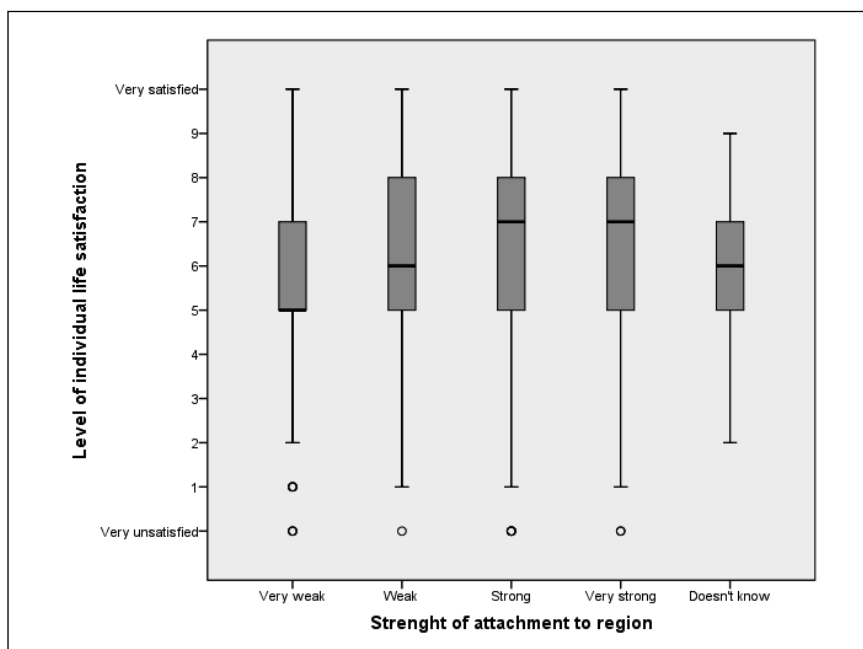
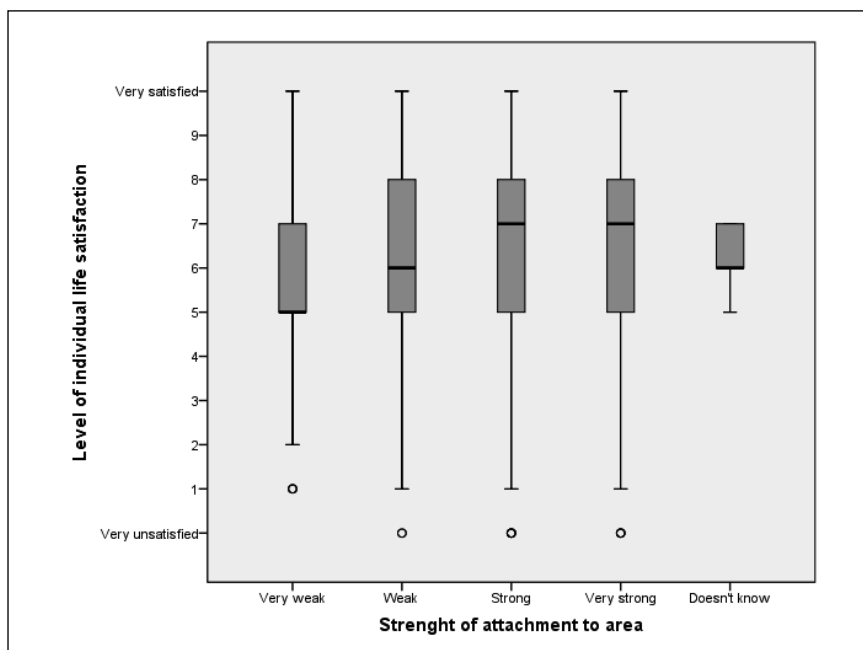


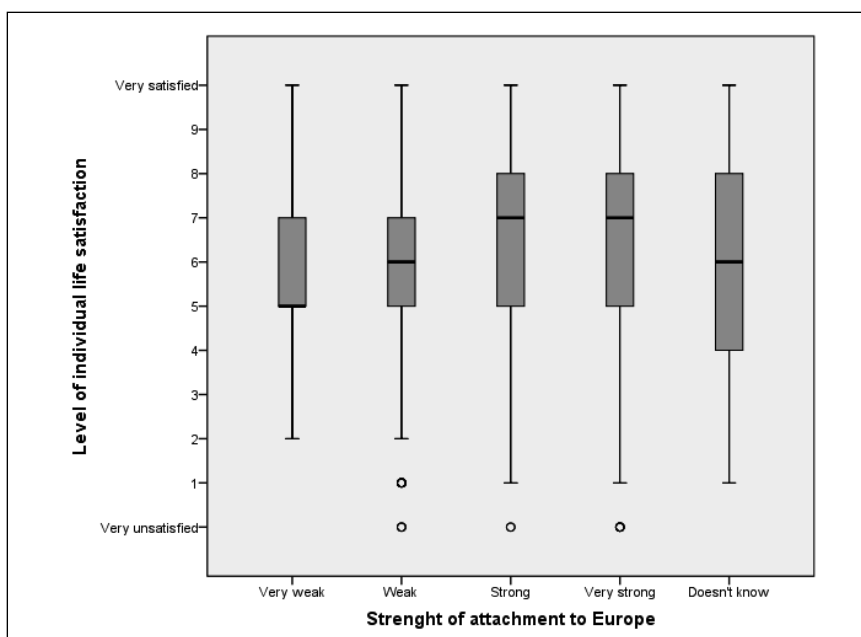
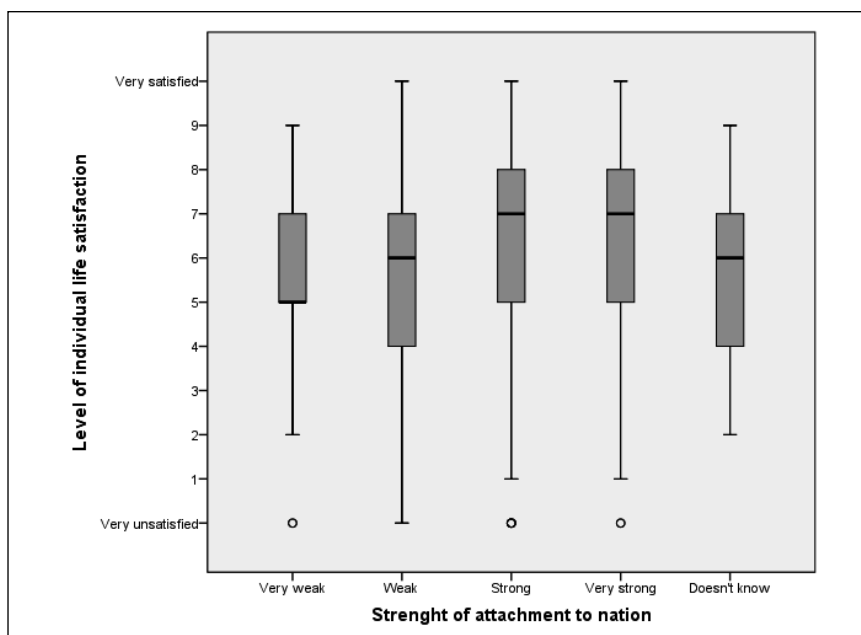


Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)
(See: Table 6)

Figure 7: Strength of satisfaction according to spatial attachments (N=2029)





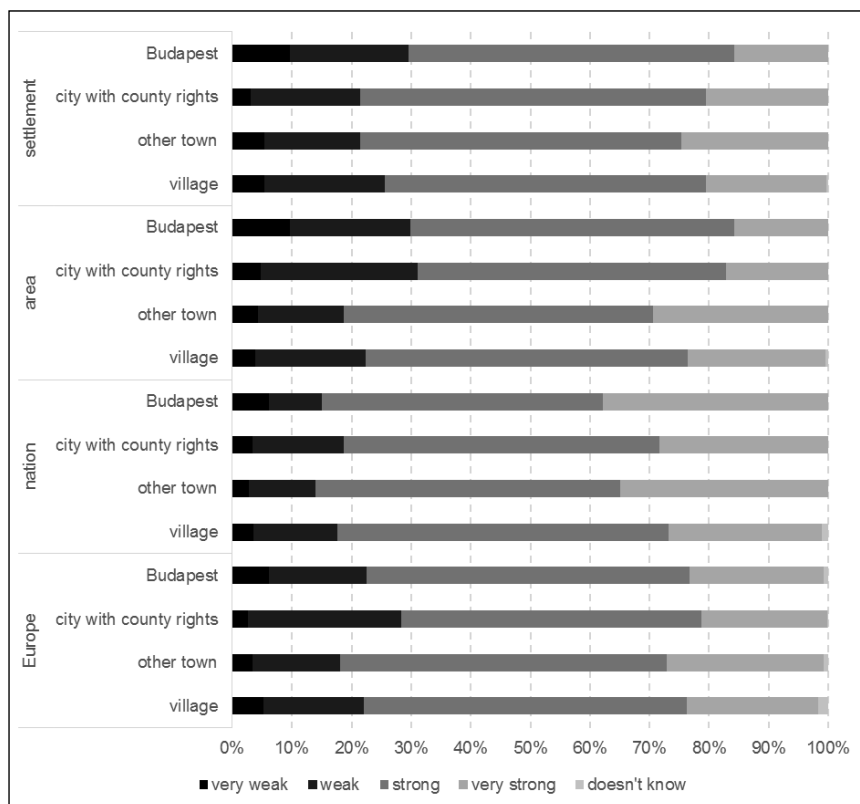


Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)
(See: Table 6)

4.3. Type of settlements and attachment

Considering attachment according to the various types of settlements, slight differences can be observed among the various types of settlements (Figure 6). Characteristic are the lower attachment values of settlements belonging to a higher settlement hierarchy, in comparison with the higher attachment values of units in a lower settlement hierarchy. This difference can be observed in all attachment values. To sum it up, it can be stated that the strong and very strong spatial attachment patterns are in case of the capital and all cities with county rights show lower (almost half as high) values than in the case of small towns and villages. At the same time, the category weak and very weak attachment is similar in all types of settlements with minimal values. At spatial categories, which can be perceived by the individuals, such as the categories settlement, area, town and village, stronger attachments (strong and very strong) can be observed. Especially inhabitants of villages and small towns have an attachment to their neighbourhood and this attitude is less common with inhabitants of the capital and cities with county rights. It is interesting that when comparing the types of settlements the largest differences are between the average values of such spatial categories, which can be considered as specific, and the rather soft term Europe results in hardly any differences regarding the same aspect. It can be seen that there is no significant difference between attachment to nation and to Europe and the type of settlement. That means that the living space of the individual is the one, which results in significant differences of attachments (Figure 8, Table 3). It has to be emphasized that in case of such spatial categories, which can be interpreted specifically, such as settlement, area or neighbourhood, the attachment of the inhabitants of large towns is weaker than that of inhabitants of villages or small towns.

Figure 8: Attachment to Area, Settlement, Nation and Europe in various types of settlements:



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Table 3: Average values of settlement hierarchy and spatial attachment

TYPE_OF_SETTLEMENT	Attachment to neighbourhood	Attachment to settlement	Attachment to area	Attachment to nation	Attachment to Europe
Budapest	2.26	2.77	2.76	3.17	2.99
County town, city with county rights	2.48	2.96	2.81	3.06	2.92
Other towns	2.61	2.98	3.06	3.18	3.09
Large village, village	2.70	2.91	3.00	3.11	3.05

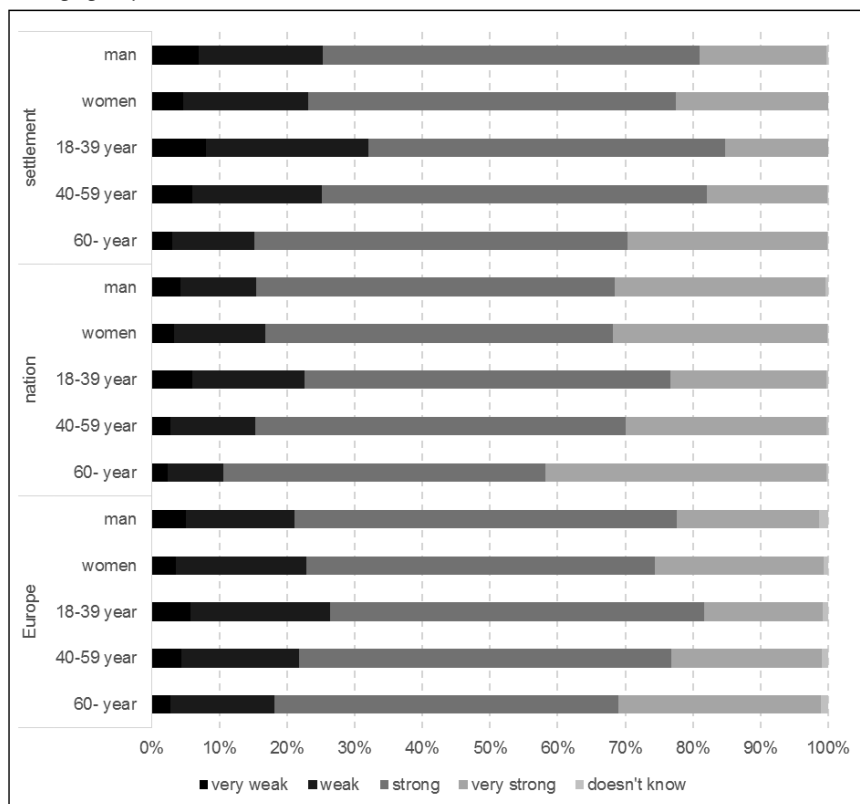
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

4.4. Genders, age groups and attachment patterns

The examination of these factors, according to the demographic factors, is similar here as previously and it includes the comparison of a few categories of spatial attachments. In the attachment patterns weak and very weak attachment have a low proportion, the strong attachment type is dominant and the very strong type has again a lower value. This is a characteristic, which can be proven differently in the aspects of genders and age groups (Figure 8, Table 4). Considering genders, it seems as if women had consistently higher attachment values regarding attachment to settlement, nation or Europe, and men fall behind the former mentioned by five percent, on average, but statistically there is no significant difference between both genders.

The significance is different at the various age groups, where also the strength of correlation can be shown at the values of Eta. In this approach lies the major difference between young adults and older people. Generally, it can be said that the weak attachment values are more frequent with young adults and weak attachments are less characteristic for older people. On the other hand, a very strong attachment is characteristic for older people and the strong attachment shows in each three age groups the maximum values. The difference is the strongest in the attachment to nation, where the very strong attachment of people in the older age group is outstanding, whereas it is almost just half as high with younger adults (Figure 8). Regarding the attachment to settlement and Europe the difference is smaller, which is otherwise similar to all other spatial categories, not presented here, due to the lack of space. Considering the average values (Table 3), it can be seen that the values of attachment are increasing alongside the age groups in relation to the progress of age. The young and middle aged groups typically have a slightly weaker attachment to the neighbourhood and settlement space, which are in fact the specific living space. On the contrary, they have higher average values in case of the more abstract categories, such as region, nation or Europe. At the same time, older people can be described typically also in relation to the previously mentioned spatial categories with higher averages. Thus, the characteristic age group influences the attachment to spatial categories.

Figure 9: Strength of attachment to settlement, nation and Europe according to genders and age groups (See: Table 5)



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Table 4: Spatial attachment according to gender and age

Gender/age of the questioned person		Attachment to neighborhood	Attachment to settlement	Attachment to area	Attachment to region	Attachment to nation	Attachment to Europe
men	Average	2.52	2.88	2.93	3.00	3.14	3.03
	N	910	909	909	910	909	909
	Std. Dev.	.893	.845	.875	.856	.856	1.025
women	Average	2.57	2.95	2.94	3.00	3.13	3.02
	N	1120	1121	1120	1118	1121	1121
	Std. Dev.	.921	.773	.779	.836	.795	.903

Gender/age of the questioned person		Attachment to neighbourhood	Attachment to settlement	Attachment to area	Attachment to region	Attachment to nation	Attachment to Europe
younger (18-39)	Average	2.35	2.75	2.76	2.79	2.96	2.91
	N	680	680	680	680	680	680
	Std. Dev.	.899	.810	.838	.825	.862	.960
mid-dle-aged (40-59)	Average	2.53	2.88	2.91	3.00	3.13	3.02
	N	668	667	667	668	668	667
	Std. Dev.	.942	.806	.825	.836	.791	.947
older (60-xx)	Average	2.76	3.12	3.14	3.21	3.30	3.15
	N	681	682	681	679	681	682
	Std. Dev.	.838	.761	.762	.823	.778	.956

Source: *Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013*

4.5. Importance of social relationships

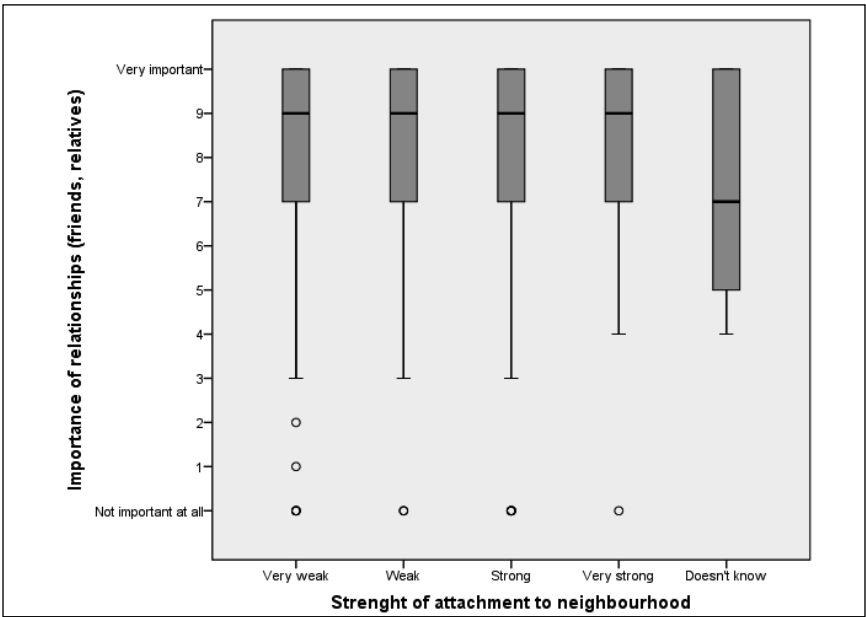
When getting to the field of analysis of social conflicts, a reference has to be made back to the field of social relationships, which were discussed previously. It was shown that social relationships influence the characteristics of the attachment to spatial categories crucially. Thus, human relationships result in a kind of humanization of space. Now, the validity of this aspect should be reviewed through an in-depth analysis.

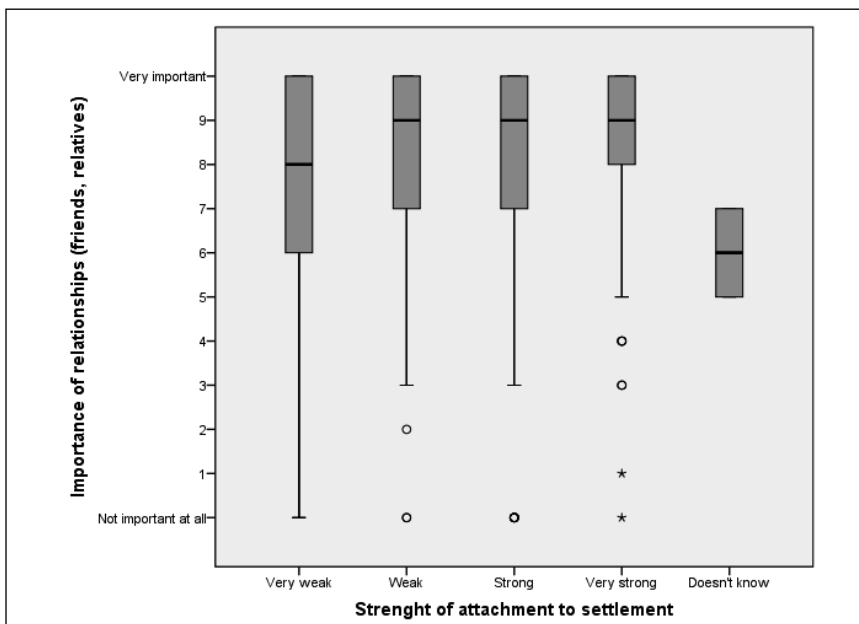
In case of attachment to nation, the importance of the social relationships show the strongest correlation, when examining the relation between the importance of relationships and the strength of the attachment to the two spatial categories (nation and settlement) ($p < 0.001$). The data show that in cases in which relationships are not considered as important at all, the values of attachments to nation and settlement are also extraordinarily low and this is true in relation of all spatial categories, such as for example the neighbourhood. At the same time, with the increasing of the importance of relationships, the strength of the attachment to nation and to settlement also increases. This relationship is maximized especially in the very important and very strong categories. It should be mentioned that the proportion of a weak or very weak inverse correlation between the very important relationship focus and the attachment to nation is only small. At the same time, these statements are only partly true in relation of attachment to neighbourhood and social relationships. Thus, there is a similarity insofar as for those persons, whose attachment to the neighbourhood is missing or weak, not even the social relationships are important. Contrary

to the characteristics of the previously mentioned spatial categories, with the increase of the importance of the social relationships both the strong and the weak attachment to the neighbourhood stand out. That is, in case of neighbourhood the significance gets lost. Moreover, the very strong and the very weak attachments represent a similar proportion in case, when the answering persons consider the social relationships as maximally important. Thus, the factor neighbourhood takes up extremely contradictory values, when one would like to know, what kind of relation is characteristic between social relationships and each spatial category. It can be assumed that this fluctuation is caused by bad neighbourhood relationships, as a source of conflict, and at the same time it can be referred to the fact that this also indicates a source of social conflict (Figure 10).

Therefore it is worth overviewing the relationship between the conflict with the neighbours and the strength of attachment to the neighbourhood. The data (Figure 10) shows that attachment to neighbourhood is strong in the case of those, whose neighbourly relationship is not burdened by conflicts, but burdening with conflicts the attachment towards this spatial category will disappear, which seems to verify the previous assumption.

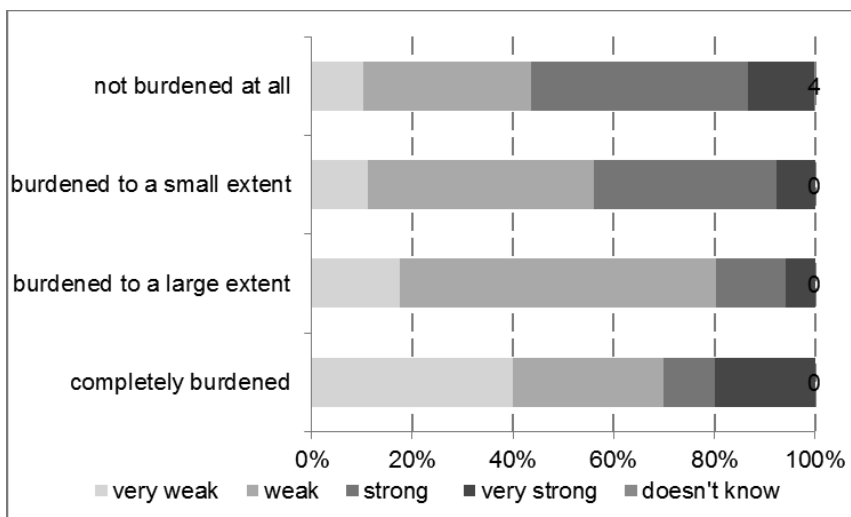
Figure 10: Importance of social relationships and extent of attachment to settlement and neighbourhood (See: Table 6)





Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Figure 11: Extent of conflicts with the neighbours and the strength of attachment to neighbourhood

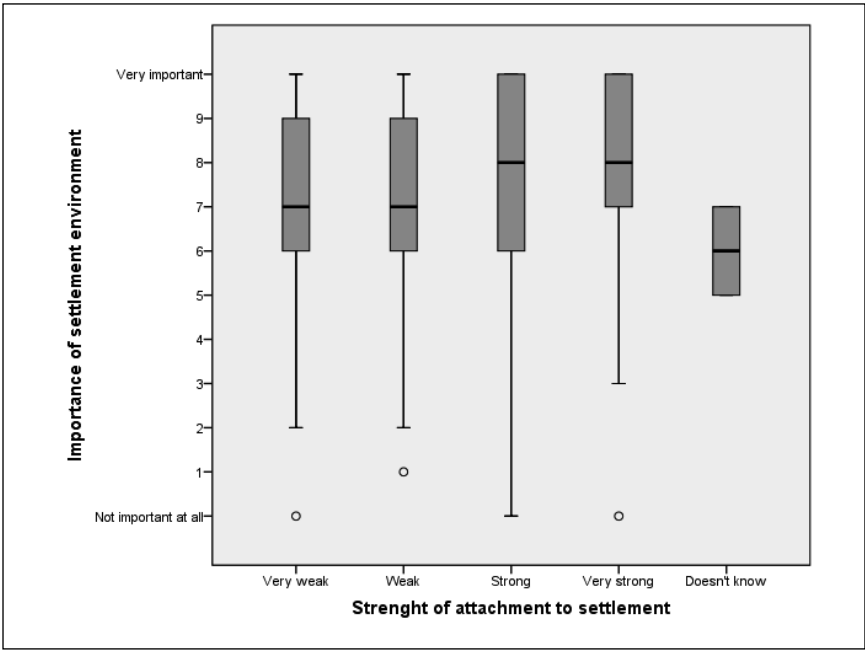


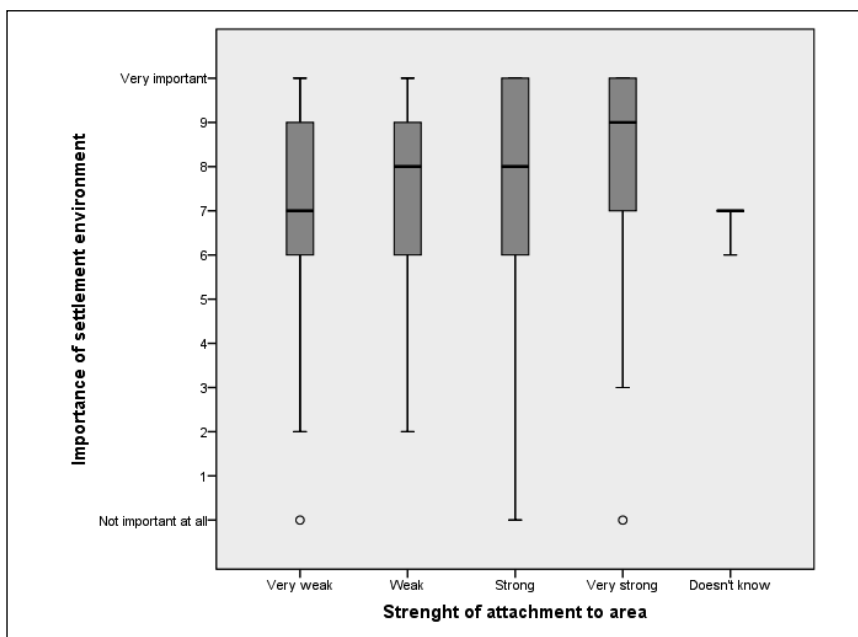
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

4.6. Environment and attachment

The settlement and living environment of the individual is also an important element of a balanced life and the quality of life during the weekdays. From this approach it has to be emphasized that the settlement environment, be it a built or a natural environment, equally shows a correlation ($p<0.005$) to the attachment to locality and area. In the case of the answering persons, who think that the environment is very important, the strong and very strong characteristic of attachment to settlement and area can be considered as determinant. It is true that the strong attachment is not consistently intensive, however, as a whole, beside the fragmentation of the outlining graph, the correlation between the strong attachment and the importance of the natural and built environment is undeniably determinant (Figure 12). At the same time, the Eta values enlighten that the strength of the correlation is by no means complete and it can explain only a small part of the relationship in this context.

Figure 12: Importance of settlement and strength of attachment to settlement and area



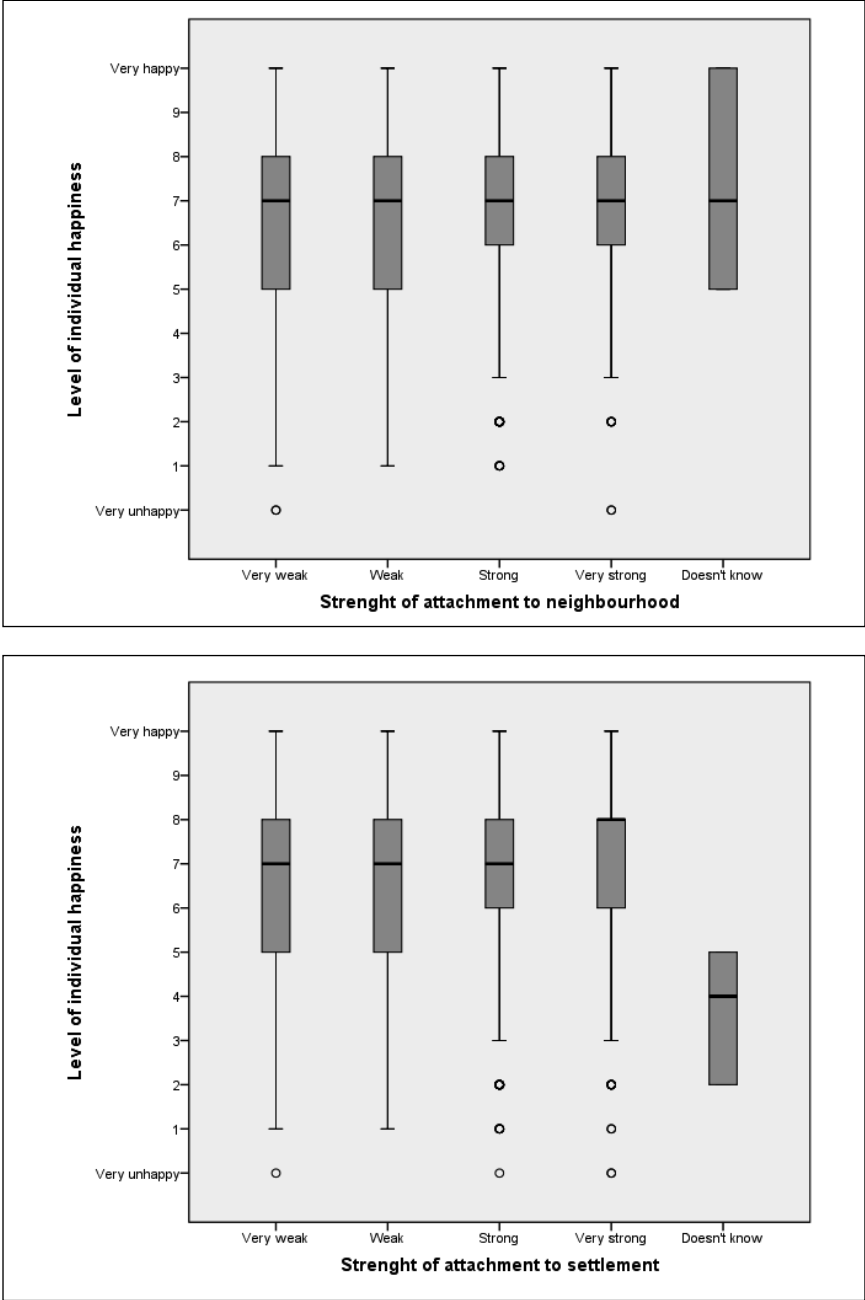


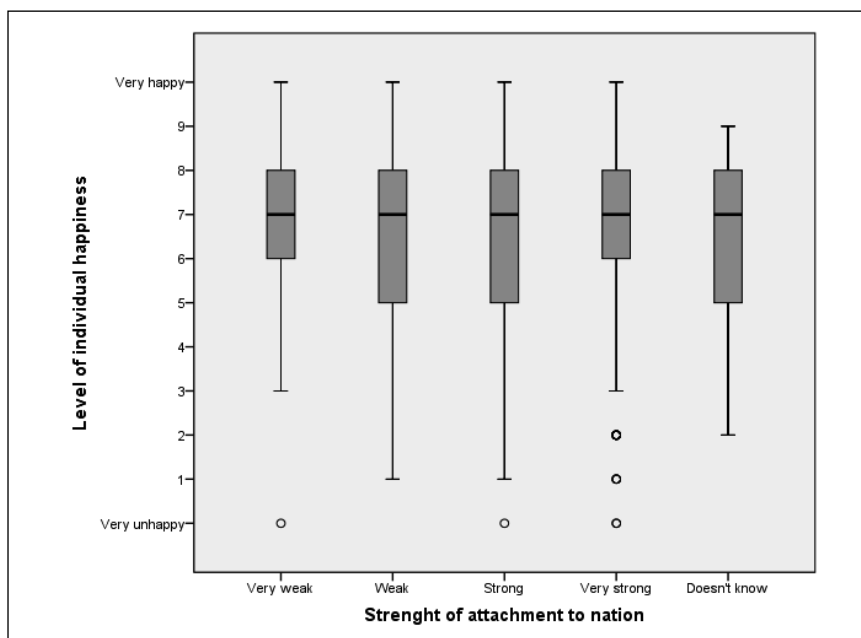
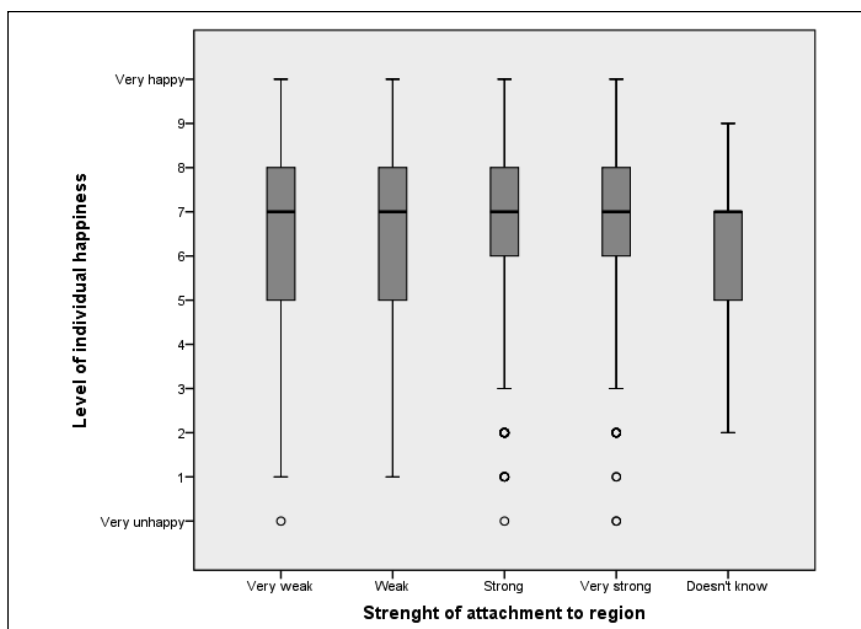
Source: *Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)*

4.7. Happiness and attachment

From the perspective of conflicts, it is also very important to analyse the values of satisfaction and trust in the overview of the results. First, the aspect of happiness will be overviewed alongside the spatial attachments (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Strength of attachment to settlement, nation, region and neighbourhood and the extent of happiness





Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

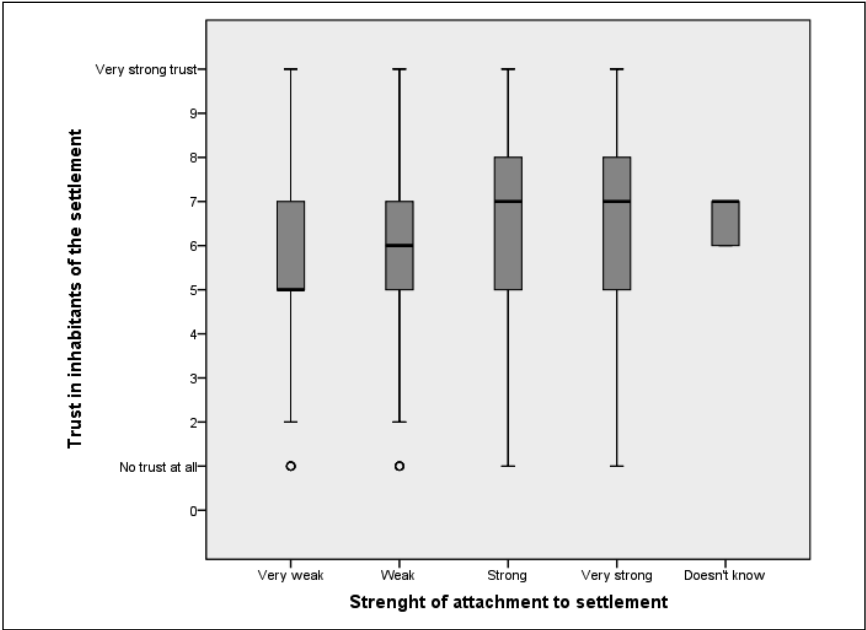
The data of happiness shows a very large similarity in the case of attachment to nation, settlement or region, in which the strong and very strong attachment goes with relatively high values of happiness. However, it is a fact that also the weak attachment pattern is strengthened by higher values of happiness, at a much smaller extent, though. A difference can be experienced, however, in the phenomenon called neighbourhood effect. Since in this category the weak attachment behaves almost similar like the strong attachment, that is, both of them show a high value as one part of the answering persons give voice to their happiness. It is worth mentioning that no significant relationship between the two factors can be found here (See: Table 6) and the Eta value is weak, thus, the relationship of neighbourhood and happiness is hardly compatible. A similar experience can be made also here as for the topic importance of social relationships, which was already discussed previously. That is, as the social relationships were evaluated highly, the extent of the weak and strong attachments towards neighbourhood has become more prominent. It can still be found that in the case of neighbourhood, the extent is fluctuating, the weak and strong attachment equally go with strong feelings of happiness. That means that the neighbourhood is not a determinant factor and the possible negative effect of the neighbourhood relationships will not affect the happiness of the individual. That implies that neighbourhood means also a source of conflict from the perspective of attachment, since the individual minimizes his/her attachment to the neighbourhood so this does not influence his/her feeling of happiness.

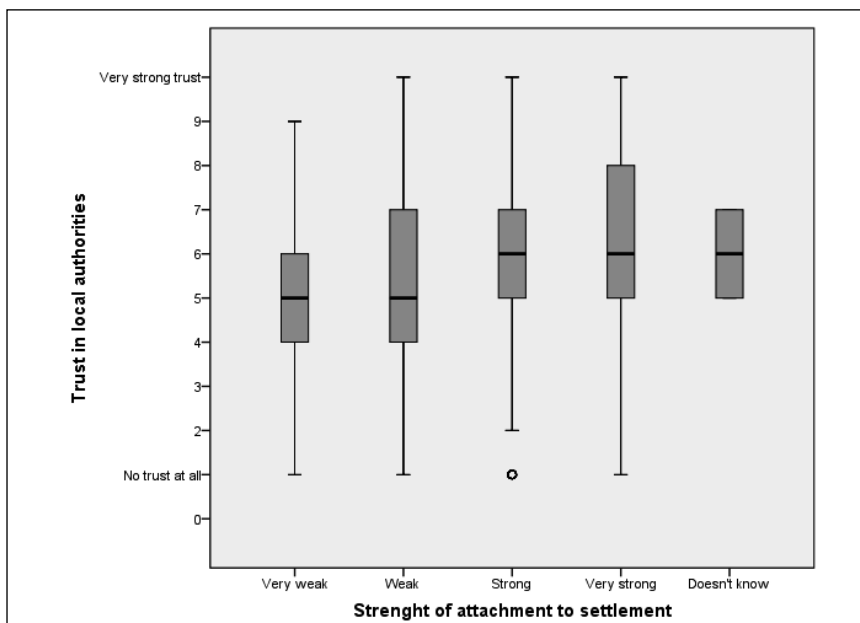
4.8. Trust and attachment

The other important aspect regarding social relationships is, especially if also the aspect of social capital is emphasized, the factor of trust. Comparing the extent of trust with the appropriate spatial element, it can be found that the significance is only minimal. For example, the correlation in the case of the trust to the fellow citizens and the attachment to the nation is a limit value (sig.: 0.047, $p < 0.05$) and the Pearson-correlation is 0.037 in the context of attachment to settlement and local authorities (sig.: 0.019, $p < 0.05$) and is correlated: 0.047 (See: Table 6). As it can be seen also from the details of the next figure (Figure 14), the relationships will be deteriorated by the fact that the high values of trust (be it a trust towards the settlement or even the fellow citizens) are not accompanied by high attachment values. The attachment is maximized at the middle values of trust, thus, the relationship is weak and it moves, considering significance, just on the

boundary line. The differences are very small, though, but the extent of trust towards fellow citizens with a very high attachment to nation is also present in higher areas of trust, which is probably not surprising. In the case of attachment to settlement, two relationships of trust have been examined, the trust in the local authorities and in the inhabitants of the settlement. The two aspects have produced similar results and also in these cases it is true that with the full extent of trust, the attachment values are not maximized, but they decrease proportionally. Thus, the proportion of those people who trust completely in their local authorities and in the inhabitants of their settlement is low. However, if cutting out the very low and very high extreme values of trust, the stronger attachment is more characteristic in case of high trust. At the same time, the strong attachment will be characteristic even for trust values, which are relatively lower than middle values. It can also be formulated in that way that the result of removal of extreme trust values is that a strong spatial-social attachment can be found in the relation of inhabitants belonging and living within the same spatial segment. However, this is accompanied by trust values, which can be even weaker than the average.

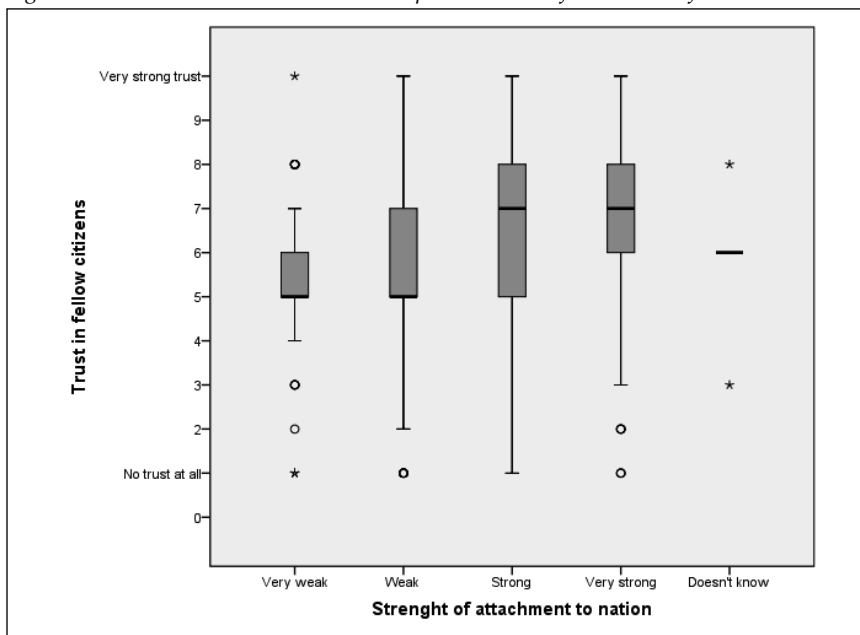
Figure14: Attachment to settlement and the extent of trust in those living there and the local authorities

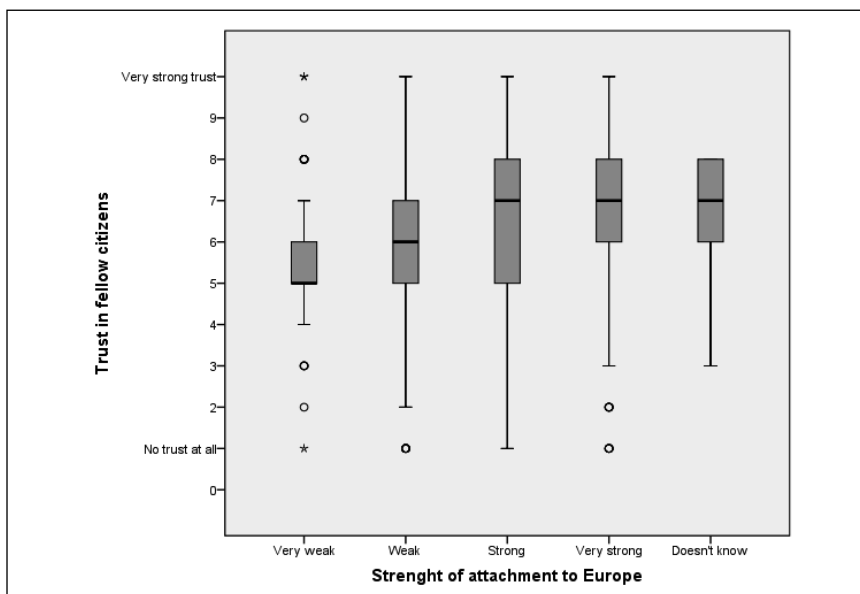




Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Figure 15: Attachment to nation and Europe and extent of trust in the fellow citizens





Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

4.9. Satisfaction and attachment

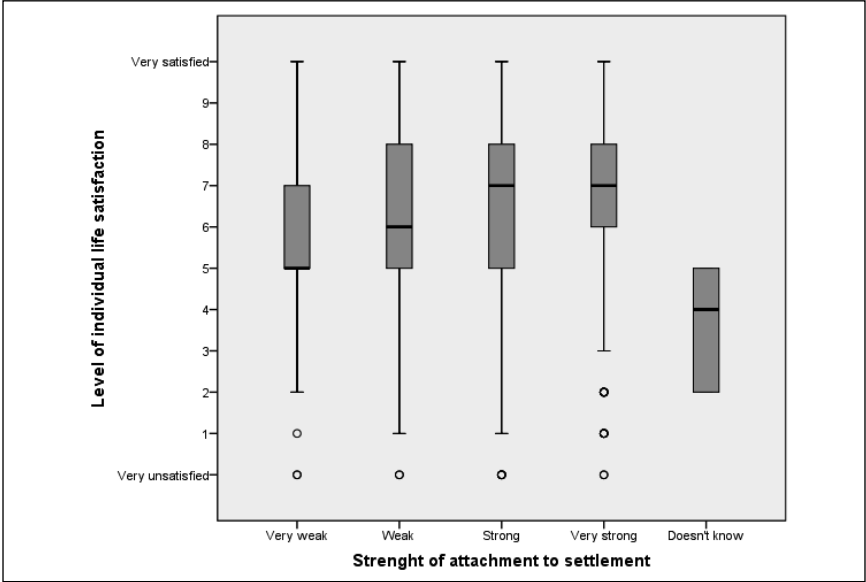
The examination of the different kinds of satisfaction shows a similar picture as in the case of trust. As the questioned persons reported about their satisfaction with life, the received data were compared with their attachment to settlement, region, nation and Europe. The reason why these spatial categories were selected to be examined is because these categories were the closest to the living conditions of the individuals, such as institutional, lifestyle and way of life or spatial movement and these spatial categories are able to map almost all aspects of life in the space.

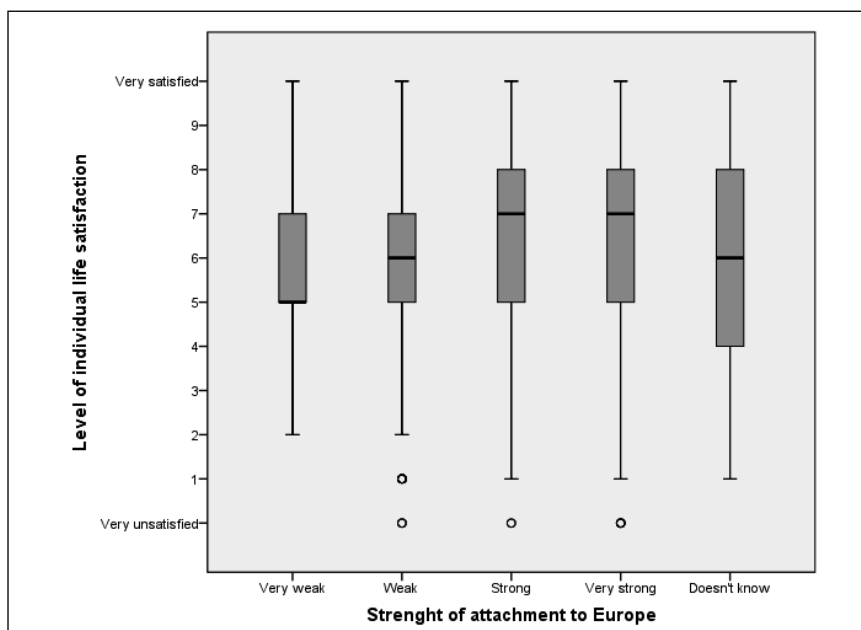
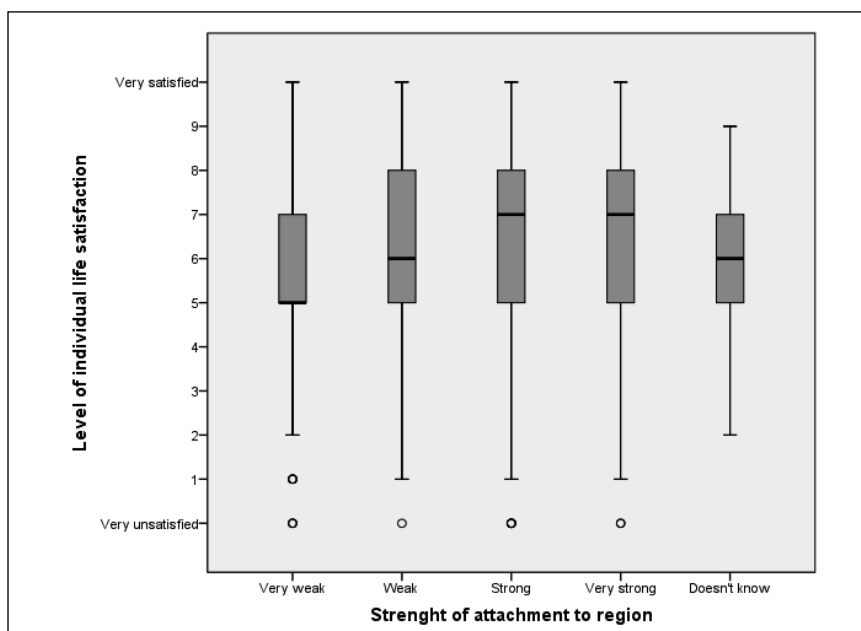
4.9.1. Aspect of satisfaction with life

Considering the data, it will be probably striking even at first sight that the strong attachments in each spatial category have a similar form and these coincide very much with the logic, which can also be found in the case of trust. This time the satisfaction can be found in the place of trust and on the graphs (Figure 15) the extreme values are the high values. That means that the maximum satisfaction or a value close to it, is accompanied by a relatively low proportion of strong spatial attachment, be it a factor related to settlement, region or nation or possible to Europe. It can be seen, considering the proportions of very strong attachment, that the proportion of

the answering persons with very strong attachment is high, if the extent of satisfaction is middle or a little stronger. But the values of a very strong attachment and the complete satisfaction do not coincide in any of the spatial categories. Considering the proportions of weak attachment, it shows slightly higher values for middle satisfaction and lower values for extreme satisfaction. Furthermore, the data of the especially weak attachment have a minimum proportion in each case, regardless of the extent of the satisfaction. However, it cannot be said that in the case of satisfaction, the weak or very weak attachment proportions towards the communities of spatial categories would increase, moreover, their percentage values will remain extremely low. Also a various presence of significance can be observed in these cases. If the spatial categories examined in the graphs (Figure 16) will be taken as a basis, significance is true everywhere (See: Table 6, A9). At the same time, it is indicatory that the same significance will be lost between neighbourhood and satisfaction with life, as it can be seen from the table. Furthermore, it can be important to mention that there is also a valid significant correlation between happiness and satisfaction with life (See: Table 6, A8-A9) and moreover in the topic here a strong correlation can be found (Eta: 0.666), which otherwise shows very low values, along satisfaction and spatial attachments (Eta: between 0.1-0.2).

Figure 16: The extent of attachment to settlement, region and Europe and extent of satisfaction with life (See: Table 6, A9)





Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

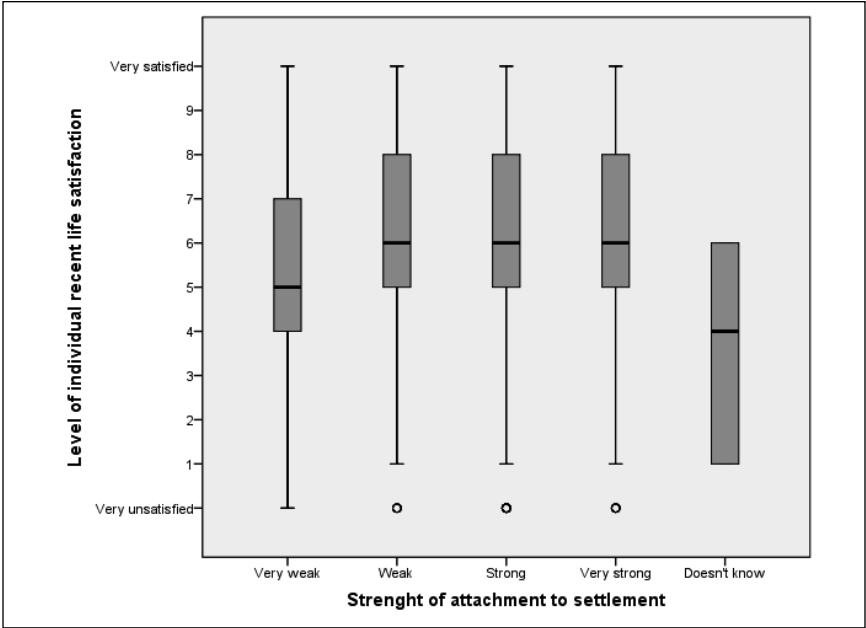
4.9.2. *Special aspects of satisfaction and conflicts*

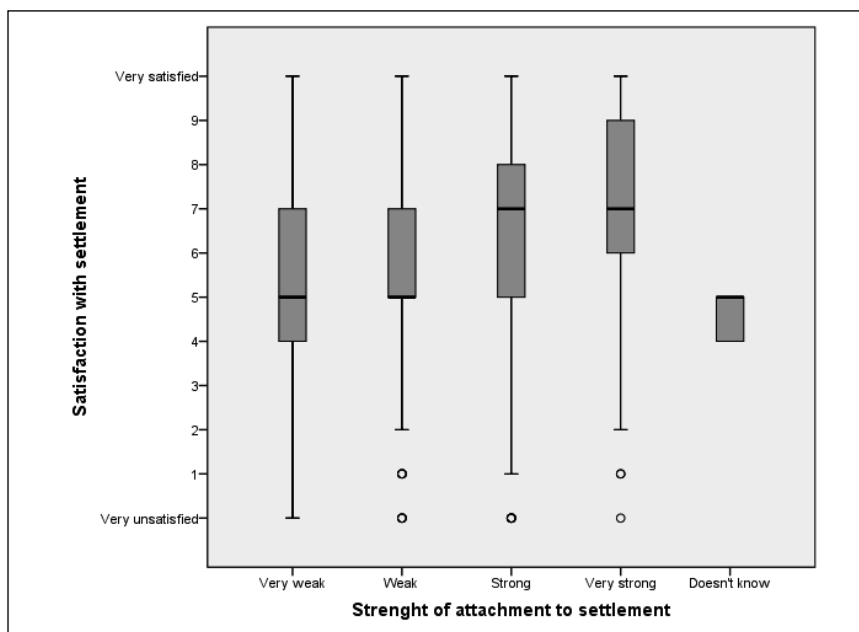
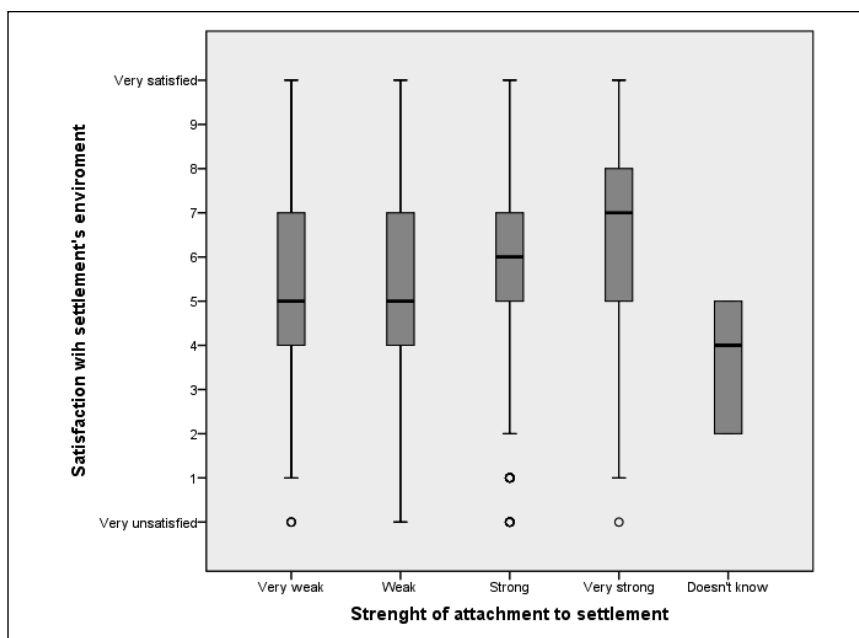
If the special aspects of satisfaction will be further analysed, then similar characteristics as seen before can be found (Figures 16-18). The proportion of strong and very strong attachments is typically higher at middle satisfaction and above, but the increasing of satisfaction to maximum will not be supported by the strong attachment proportion anymore, it will fall back. Similarly, weak or very weak attachment rates are also not accompanied by dissatisfaction. An exception to this constellation is probably the attachment to neighbourhood, where a more significant correlation appears between attachment and satisfaction. Here, those who are satisfied with their living environment also have a higher attachment to neighbourhood. However, even in these examples are two propositions not true. Namely, also here dissatisfaction is not accompanied by a high rate of weak or very weak attachments and in the case of a high extent of satisfaction diminish the rates of strong and very strong attachments. Significant relationships can be seen in most of the cases, an exception is the correlation between the settlement and the general satisfaction (Figure 17) and in this case the Eta value is also low. At the same time, with significance of the other spatial categories (Figures 17-19), the Eta explains the strength in the satisfactory relationships in a proportion of 20-30%, that is, even here no determinant factor can be found. However, it can be clearly seen that the satisfaction with the settlement and the living environment, just as well the attachment to nation and the satisfaction with the economic conditions of the country are significant and a slightly strong relationship can be proven.

If the spatial attachments will be compared with 3 different types of conflicts, then the result is a reference system with various significance and strength of relationships. The three factors, which induce conflicts, are the following: Conflicts with the neighbours, occurrence of job loss risk (measured by answering the frequency) and the frequency of occurrence of bread-and-butter worries. Considering these conflict-inducing factors, significant correlations can be found in various spatial attachments, which show that the attachment to the given areas decreases alongside the increase of the occurrence of these conflict-background factors (increase of average values). The spatial elements, which are determinant, are usually conceivable categories, as it will be shown (See: Tables 7-8). With the increase of conflicts with neighbours, the attachment to neighbourhood decreases significant and, to a little milder extent, the attachment to the settlement also decreases significant, by the inverse correlation. The

strength of the relationship is not too high, though ($F=7.444$, $F=4.89$), but it is an explanatory factor. The other examined spatial categories are not influenced significantly by this conflict. The second aspect is the significant correlation between the risk of losing job and the attachment to spatial categories, which can be proven in the case of attachment to neighbourhood, settlement, region and nation, showing that in these cases the average values of attachment decrease with the increase of the occurrence of risk. Thus, the unsafe working place damages the extent of the attachment in case of these spatial elements (See: Tables 7-8). And finally, in the case of occurrence of frequency of bread-and-butter worries (in the sense of financial, income problems...etc.) and the attachment to spatial categories, a significant correlation can be proven at neighbourhood, region and nation and also its explanatory power is valid, though, not generally valid. Nevertheless, it can be said that both conflicts of private life and economic character damage the attachment values to that given spatial unit, be it life-like elements, which can be perceived by the individual specifically, such as the neighbourhood or the settlement, or rather abstract categories, such as region, nation or European characteristics.

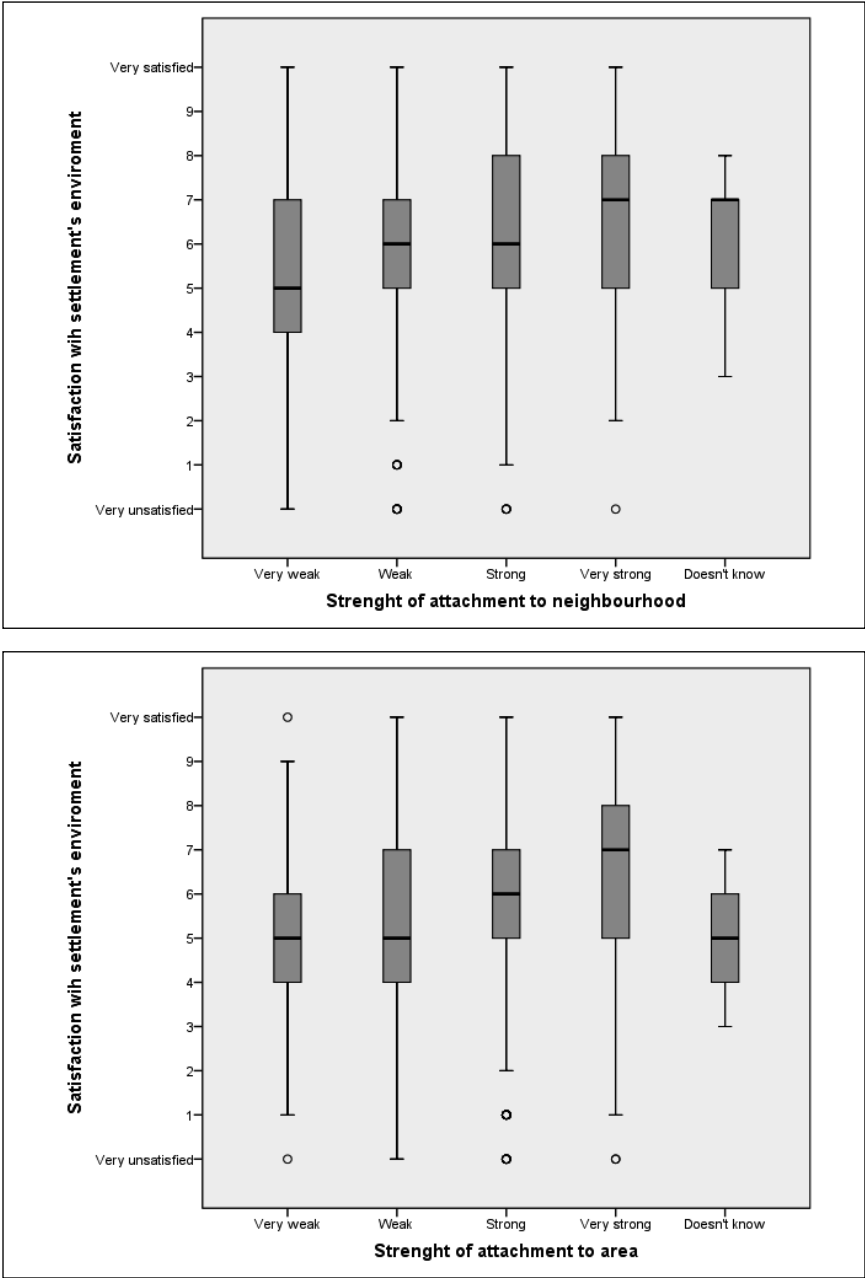
Figure 17: The extent of attachment to settlement and the general satisfaction and the extent of satisfaction with the condition of living environment and the settlement





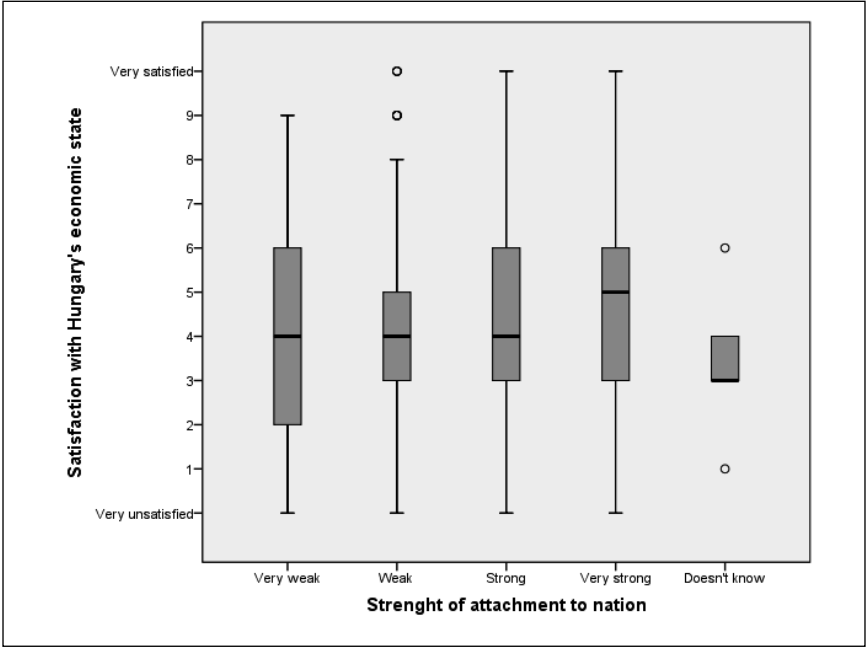
Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Figure 18: The extent of attachment to neighbourhood and to area and the extent of satisfaction with the condition of living environment



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Figure 19: The extent of attachment to nation and satisfaction with economic conditions in Hungary



Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

5. Summary

The study is partly based on a narrowed index of well-being and its backbone and connecting material is the socio-spatial attachment. It has tried to create an inside view on conflicts and social well-being, with integration of various variables. The spatial categories, which were taken into consideration, were at the same time communities as well, either in a specific sense (neighbourhood, settlement and its inhabitants) or as a kind of set (region, nation), which can also be a formula and can be described as a historical-ideological, as an economical or a possible kind of empirical factor. Regarding the different attachment patterns, the following substantial statements can be made. The strongest relationship could be proven between the social relationships and the attachments, be it in the relation of the category settlement, nation or Europe. However, this relationship takes at the spatial element neighbourhood extremely contradictory values, when examining the characteristic relation between

social relationships and certain spatial categories. As a proof, regarding the question which was already asked at the beginning of the study, it can be shown that the neighbourhood, as a spatial category of attachment, diverges from the data line. It can be explained with the survey questions about conflicts that where the relationship with the neighbours is not burdened by conflicts, the attachment rate is high, otherwise it is low. Neighbourhood is a kind of indicator, since those who have conflicts here, their values of attachments will be minimized at this level.

The low areal attachment in the North Hungary region is a strikingly different attachment value, compared to the other parts of the country. Another difference is that the regional attachments in Central Hungary and in Transdanubia are slightly higher than in the Eastern part of the country.

The results show relating to happiness, satisfaction and trust that a strong attachment implies, parallel to these factors, a high attachment rate, though, significance cannot be proven not in the least in each case. As a whole, the attachment to different socio-spatial factors can be regarded as stable and satisfaction, happiness and trust as elements of well-being strengthen the attachment. Taking a look at the relationship between the spatial attachments and the conflict-inducing factors, it can be seen that there are significant relationships between them and that the negative economic events and the social conflicts reduce the extent of attachment.

Table 5: Correlations of genders and age groups in relation to spatial attachment

Correlations						
		A1	A2	A3	A4	A5
Attachment to settlement A1	Pearson correlation	1	.573**	.415**	.042	.187**
	Sig.		.000	.000	.061	.000
	N	2030	2029	2029	2030	2029
Attachment to nation A2	Pearson correlation		1	.647**	-.009	.170**
	Sig.			.000	.700	.000
	N		2030	2029	2030	2029
Attachment to Europe A3	Pearson correlation			1	-.003	.105**
	Sig.				.883	.000
	N			2030	2030	2029

Gender of the questioned person A4	Pearson correlation					1	.093**
	Sig.						.000
	N					2031	2030
Age group of the questioned person A5	Pearson correlation						1
	Sig.						
	N						2030
** Correlation is significant: 0.01							

Table 6: Combined table of correlations

Correlations													
		A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	A11	A12
Attachment to neighborhood A1	Pearson correlation	1	.483**	.384**	.334**	.260**	.005	.014	.041	.076**	.020	-.026	-.009
	Sig.		.000	.000	.000	.000	.824	.530	.067	.001	.359	.237	.698
	N	2030	2029	2027	2029	2029	2029	2030	2028	2028	2019	2024	2020
Attachment to settlement A2	Pearson correlation		1	.647**	.573**	.415**	.046*	.042	.079**	.119**	.046*	.007	.008
	Sig.			.000	.000	.000	.036	.061	.000	.000	.038	.746	.710
	N		2030	2027	2029	2029	2029	2030	2028	2028	2019	2024	2020
Attachment to region A3	Pearson correlation			1	.746**	.565**	.040	.054*	.087**	.128**	.039	.034	.001
	Sig.				0.000	.000	.074	.014	.000	.000	.081	.125	.976
	N			2028	2027	2027	2027	2028	2026	2026	2017	2022	2018
Attachment to nation A4	Pearson correlation				1	.647**	.068**	.060**	.099**	.137**	.060**	.099**	.037
	Sig.					.000	.002	.007	.000	.000	.007	.000	.095
	N				2030	2029	2029	2030	2028	2028	2019	2024	2020
Attachment to Europe A5	Pearson correlation					1	.064**	.064**	.057*	.085**	.050*	.118**	.067**
	Sig.						.004	.004	.010	.000	.024	.000	.003
	N					2030	2029	2030	2028	2028	2019	2024	2020

Importance of social relationships A6	Pearson correlation						1	.597**	.077**	.072**	.143**	.023	.015
	Sig.							.000	.001	.001	.000	.305	.493
	N						2030	2030	2028	2028	2019	2024	2020
Importance of settlement A7	Pearson correlation							1	.006	.020	.095**	.076**	.024
	Sig.								.781	.362	.000	.001	.276
	N							2031	2029	2029	2020	2025	2021
Happiness A8	Pearson correlation								1	.819**	.107**	.041	.004
	Sig.									0.000	.000	.066	.850
	N								2029	2029	2018	2023	2019
Satisfaction A9	Pearson correlation									1	.134**	.042	-.021
	Sig.										.000	.060	.342
	N									2029	2018	2023	2019
Trust in local authorities A10	Pearson correlation										1	.081**	.028
	Sig.											.000	.214
	N										2020	2016	2012
Trust in people living in the settlement A11	Pearson correlation											1	.294**
	Sig.												.000
	N											2025	2019
Trust in fellow citizens A12	Pearson correlation												1
	Sig.												
	N												2021
**. Correlation is significant $p < 0.01$													
*. Correlation is significant $p < 0.05$													

Source: Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Table 7: Correlation between spatial attachments and 3 conflict areas according to the averages

Neighbourhood conflict	Attachment to neighbourhood	Attachment to settlement	Attachment to region	Attachment to nation	Attachment to Europe
Not burdened at all	2.61	2.94	3.01	3.15	3.06
Burdened to a small extent	2.40	2.84	2.93	3.04	2.85
Highly burdened	2.08	2.98	3.14	3.20	3.14
Completely burdened	2.10	3.00	3.20	3.10	2.80
Sig.:	0.000	0.000	0.255	0.113	0.002
F	7.449	4.893	1.290	1.782	3.792
Risk of losing job, unemployment	Attachment to neighbourhood	Attachment to settlement	Attachment to region	Attachment to nation	Attachment to Europe
Not relevant	2.62	3.01	3.09	3.22	3.10
Very seldom	2.50	2.86	2.96	3.08	2.97
Rarely	2.46	2.81	2.89	3.02	2.93
Often	2.41	2.74	2.83	3.03	2.90
Very often	2.32	2.73	2.87	2.95	2.88
Sig:	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.004
F	4.245	6.927	5.624	5.215	3.425
Bread-and-butter worries	Attachment to neighbourhood	Attachment to settlement	Attachment to region	Attachment to nation	Attachment to Europe
Not relevant	2.48	2.96	3.03	3.17	3.14
Very seldom	2.62	2.94	3.05	3.17	3.03
Rarely	2.64	2.98	3.10	3.19	3.07
Often	2.41	2.85	2.90	3.08	2.97
Very often	2.40	2.76	2.82	2.94	2.86
Sig:	0.000	0.013	0.000	0.004	0.029
F	8.579	2.916	5.139	3.429	2.494

Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Table 8

Correlations		A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8
Conflicts with neighbours A1	Pearson correlation	1	.100**	.169**	-.069**	-.088**	-.026	-.026	-.033
	Sig.		.000	.000	.002	.000	.241	.236	.143
	N	2030	2028	2028	2029	2029	2027	2029	2029
Risk of losing job, unemployment A2	Pearson correlation		1	.478**	-.077**	-.110**	-.107**	-.086**	-.061**
	Sig.			.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.006
	N		2029	2027	2028	2028	2026	2028	2028
Bread-and-butter worries A3	Pearson correlation			1	-.013	-.054*	-.079**	-.057*	-.046*
	Sig.				.569	.016	.000	.010	.037
	N			2029	2028	2028	2026	2028	2028
Attachment to neighbourhood A4	Pearson correlation				1	.483**	.384**	.334**	.260**
	Sig.					.000	.000	.000	.000
	N				2030	2029	2027	2029	2029
Attachment to settlement A5	Pearson correlation					1	.647**	.573**	.415**
	Sig.						.000	.000	.000
	N					2030	2027	2029	2029
Attachment to region A6	Pearson correlation						1	.746**	.565**
	Sig.							0.000	.000
	N						2028	2027	2027
Attachment to nation A7	Pearson correlation							1	.647**
	Sig.								.000
	N							2030	2029
Attachment to Europe A8	Pearson correlation								1
	Sig.								
	N								2030
**. Correlation is significant: $p < 0.01$.									
*. Correlation is significant: $p < 0.05$.									

Questionnaire survey about economic and social conflicts, 2013 (Own edition)

Factors of subjective safety in Hungary

HELGA HORVÁTH– PÉTER TÓTH

1. Introduction

Research of the subjective feeling of safety is a multidisciplinary approached subject from the last fifty years, in which criminology, sociology, psychology, political science and law are also involved. The Hungarian researches of the last years paid a lot of attention to the territorial aspects of crime and committing crime. Although it is well-known from the statistics that Hungary still has indices below the European average and can be regarded as a middle-infected country, considering the number of criminal acts, which increased since the political transformation. However, the perception and clear-sightedness of the people is significantly influenced by other dimensions as well. In this study, no notice will be taken of the effects of the media and the public life, which form the conceptions about crimes. Instead of this, the effects of the main socio-demographic characteristics, which are behind the personal experiences and beliefs, will be presented.

This will be carried out on many levels. First, the Hungarian criminal situation will be analysed, by comparing it with the trends in the European Union and the true or deformed judgement about it in the Hungarian society will be introduced. The objective data from settlement, national and county statistics from the last 6 years will be compared with the subjective opinion of the questioned persons about their settlement, from which it has turned out that 45% of the Hungarian population judge the criminal situation of their own settlement better than reality. Considering the group of bad judgement about the crime situation the opinion of inhabitants of the capital is especially striking, where a significant proportion of the questioned persons have a much better opinion about the criminal situation in the capital, than it is in reality. Contrary to this, the population of the villages, where there is a significant number of people, draws a much worse picture about their settlement, than it is in reality. Thus, the spatial situation and the type of settlement significantly influence the placement of the own settlement in a relationship system.

The questioned persons indicated poverty and unemployment in the highest percentage and the ethnical conflicts as the cause of crimes, which is related to the previously mentioned ripple effects of public life.

In the second place, an attempt will be made, based on the current international literature, to conceptualize and operationalize the factors, which influence the fear of crime. It is an interesting relation that the conflicts and the elements of well-being (related to settlement, health, mental and subjective and objective) are among those dimensions, which determine the extent of the fear of crime.

Furthermore, it will be shown that also in this case, the previously widespread opinion seems to be right in our case, that the perception of a person, who experienced a crime or was informed about a crime from his/her immediate environment, will be much more negative, than that of those, who do not have such experiences. On the other hand, the strongest relationship was proven between the judgement of the condition of the built environment, the residential factors, and the development of the fear of crime. This confirms the effect and the applicability of the broken windows theory, used by the conservative criminology. The effect of each dimension on each other will be demonstrated with the path model.

2. The crime situation in Hungary and the European trends

The crime situation in Hungary has already been analysed in various studies. In this case the overview of the Hungarian situation and its placement in international relations cannot be abandoned, in order to interpret the data of this research and to put it into a frame. The importance of this is supported by the fact that the public safety and its judgement became an important political-economic factor, since it has an immediate effect on areas of national strategy such as tourism, investments, capital inflow and not in the least, the mental condition of the population.

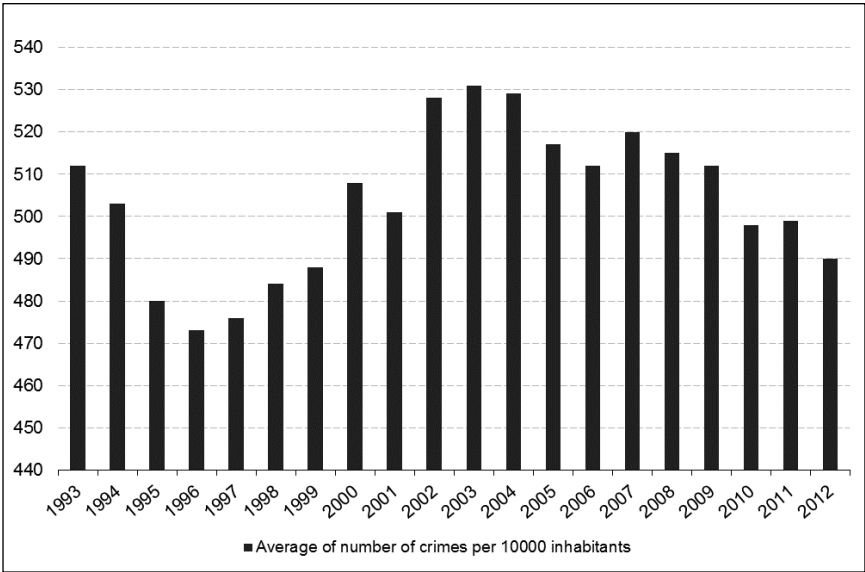
To demonstrate the situation, a general picture will be drawn about the characteristic crime trends of the European Union, and in connection with this an attempt will be made to present the Hungarian data in the form of a general overview.

The number of crimes, which became known, is an objective index, which delivers valid data about the situation in the specific country and allows the international data to be compared. In order to ensure compa-

rability, the number of crimes per 10,000 inhabitants will be examined and interpreted (an exception is the homicide, where because of the small number of elements the basis of comparison is 1,000,000 inhabitants). The source of the crime data was the statistical database about crime and jurisdiction on the homepage of Eurostat.

The number of crimes in the European Union peaked in 2003 and since then a continuously decreasing tendency can be observed. This phenomenon was examined by Van Dijk and his research colleagues (Van Dijk et al., 2005). According to their opinion, the favourable trends are usually explained by the demographic changes, since a large part of the crimes are committed by young men. Thus, the development of the number of crimes is determined by the population in these age groups. Besides, there are also other explanations, according to which there is also a connection with the more effective legislation and the tightening of punishments. An additional aspect is the importance of the prevention of crime, which includes the more efficient measures of property protections of the inhabitants (Aebi-Linde, 2010).

Figure 2: Change in the number of known crimes per 10, 000 inhabitants in 27 member states of the EU



Source: Piskóti-Kovács, 2014

The Hungarian situation is similar to that in Europe, but considering the peak of crime, Hungary (and the Czech Republic) exceeded Europe, since in these countries the number of known crimes was the highest in the year 1998-1999. In Hungary (similar to the other Visegrád Group countries) the average of the number of the known crimes was below the European average.

Regarding the subject of crime, a difference has to be made between the crime against property and violent crimes (crimes against person), because these have different effects on the fear of the individuals of crime, according to the international researches and the literature.

Analysing the data, it can be seen that the number of thefts (crimes against property) and homicides (crimes against person) has been decreased. However, in the same period, the number of other violent crimes and crimes against persons has continuously increased, though at a small extent. This is important, because it can be used later as an explanatory factor for the analysis of the data.

2.1 The subjective judgement of the crime situation in Hungary

First, the answer to the question, how good is the judgement of the Hungarian population regarding the crime situation in their own settlement was looked for, compared with the national average. That means, what is the proportion of those, who assess their situation truly and how many people assess their current situation much worse or better than the objective statistical data. The crime data of Hungary, compared with the European statistical data, has already previously been shown. However, the average spreading of crime in the settlements of the country is different. In this case no difference has been made between each type of crime, but the average of five years of the number of registered crimes were taken as a basis from the database of KSH-TEIR (Hungarian Central Statistical Office-National Information System for Country Development and Country Planning).

Considering crimes, clearly the capital and the county seats are the most infected settlements. These cities have indices above the Hungarian average. As it can be seen in *Table 1*, in the column, Number of registered crimes per 10,000 inhabitants, there are significant differences not only between the types of settlements, but also between the counties of the country. However, the average values are not spreading so much, as in the case of types of settlements. Considering the crime statistics of the last five years, Fejér, Hajdú-Bihar and Somogy counties have above average values, and

the lowest values have Vas and Tolna counties.¹ (If separating the capital, the values of Pest county also are below the national average).

Table 3: Distribution of the groups of the population, who assess the crime rate of their settlement in comparison with the national average truly and wrong, according to each county and the type of settlement and the actual crime statistics of each spatial element.

	He/she assesses the crime situation in his/her settlement compared to the national average			Number of registered crimes per 10,000 inhabitants*
	Correctly (%)	Better than the actual situation (%)	Worse than the actual situation (%)	
Bács-Kiskun	41.6	23.4	35	339
Baranya	34.3	29.9	35.8	382
Békés	19.1	41.2	39.7	328
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	33.1	15.5	51.4	376
Csongrád	42	44	14	437
Fejér	32.9	51.3	15.8	504
Győr-Moson-Sopron	35.5	37.6	26.9	353
Hajdú-Bihar	30	64.3	5.7	527
Heves	43.8	15,6	40.6	375
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	56.8	35.8	7.4	409
Komárom-Esztergom	52.2	40.3	7.5	361
Nógrád	100	0	0	367
Pest	38.1	25.4	36.4	334
Somogy	55.1	25.6	19.2	477
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	28.2	52.8	19	367
Tolna	74.4	23.1	2.6	321
Vas	21.4	40.5	38.1	316
Veszprém	46.2	50	3.8	334

¹ From the crime statistics the year 2010 is missing, for which no data could be found from the database of KSH TEIR. Therefore, for the calculation of the average of five years the data from the year 2007 were also used.

	He/she assesses the crime situation in his/her settlement compared to the national average			Number of registered crimes per 10,000 inhabitants*
	Correctly (%)	Better than the actual situation (%)	Worse than the actual situation (%)	
Zala	40	15	45	331
Budapest	6.1	93.9	0	642
County seat Cities with county rights	35.8	56.7	7.5	575
Other towns	44.5	33,3	22,2	377
Large villages, villages	36.4	18,7	44,9	264
Hungary	33.3	45	21,7	425

* Calculated from the average of the data in the time period 2007-2012

Sources: Own edition according to the data of the KSH TEIR

After assessment of the situation in the country and the calculation of the above presented values for each settlement, these values have been paired with the questionnaires of the sample of the people in the research. Thus, it was also possible to represent the differences between the subjective opinion of the questioned persons and the objective statistical data. The procedure with the settlement data was the following: those settlements with averages with one standard deviation distance from the calculated national average (425 crimes/10,000 inhabitants) got the label *worse than average* or *better than average* (depending on the positive or the negative direction of the distance from the average), and settlements with averages with a distance of two standard deviations got the label *much worse than average* or *much better than average*. This settlement variable has been paired with the answers on the following question in the questionnaire: *How would you assess your settlement in comparison to the national average according to the following: extent of crime, the chance of being a victim of a burglary or a violent attack?*

It can be seen that the two big types of crimes, the crime against person and the crime against property, have been treated in this case together. The answers for these questions are equivalent with a four-grade scale. (The proportion of those with the answer *I do not know*, and with *No answer* was 4.4%, which was not used.)

With the simultaneous examination of the two variables in a matrix, 16 new types were created, from which seven and later three categories were filtered for each settlement. The essence of this was, at which extent is the scale value of the answering person similar with or different from the objective indicator of the settlement. The distribution of these three categories is shown in *Table 1* on the county level and in the case of each type of settlements.

One third of the Hungarian population perceives and assesses the crime situation in their settlement compared to the national situation correctly, be it a good or a bad situation. The clearest judgement can be found in the Hungarian cities, where the proportion of the questioned people, who assess their situation correctly, is 44.5%. The lowest proportion is in Budapest, where only 6.1% of the questioned people see the situation correctly. However, it has to be remarked that in the question about the residence and not the settlement, where the person in question lives, was asked. If the answering person believed the question to be about his/her neighbourhood or district and not about the capital, then this proportion could be higher, since in Budapest regarding the extent of crime significant differences can be shown. For example, the central districts have significant tourist traffic and related to this there are specific crimes there and therefore the indices of these districts are significantly different from the averages of the other districts.

The question is further, if the inhabitants do not see the real situation correctly, then the subjective opinion is better or worse than the reality. In this case, it can be seen that the smaller a settlement is, where the questioned person lives, the worse considers he/she the crime situation in his/her settlement compared to the national average. There is a break in the pattern at the city level. Regarding the cities with county rights and the capital, it can be said that the questioned persons report a rather better than the real situation.

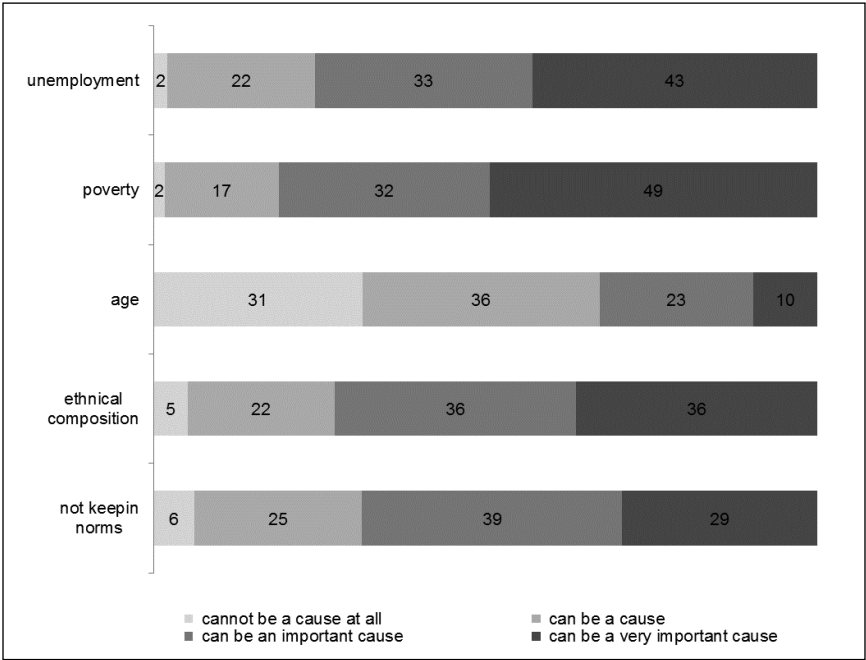
There are also problems on the county level, as for example in Nógrád county, where all the values of data are from the same city, which influence the final results. It can be assumed that it is possible that in counties with large border crossing points the number of registered crimes includes also the crimes at these border crossing points, but these crimes have not much everyday impact on the population of that certain county and therefore they assess their situation better than the statistical data. This presupposition could not be proven, since the inhabitants of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén coun-

ty perceive their situation as much worse than the reality. On the contrary, the population of Fejér and Veszprém counties with no border crossing points consider their situation as better than the statistical data. In this case, the reason for the higher crime rate can be due to Lake Balaton and the holiday area, though this assumption is not confirmed by the data of the counties along the south shore of Lake Balaton, which are different from those data (*Table 1*). The proportion of those people, who assess their situation wrongly – be it in the positive or in the negative direction – is not influenced by the real spatial statistics. The counties with the highest proportion of negative difference in the judgements compared to the real situation were besides the previously mentioned Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county and Zala and Heves counties. And the counties with the highest proportion of positive difference in the judgement of the population, excluding the capital, besides the previously mentioned Veszprém and Fejér counties, the population of Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties.

2.2 Opinions about the background of the causes of crimes

Furthermore, the question to examine was which social processes are recognised by the Hungarian population as reasons for the violation of laws and crimes. Certainly, it was not exactly formulated even in this case, which crimes and trespasses belong to the term of the violation of laws, but obviously such crimes belong to this theoretical category, which are recognised as typical crimes in the residential area of the people and therefore they can be experienced and interpreted by them. White collar crime does not typically belong to this type. Those elements have the highest value in the order of importance of the causes, which determine the economic situation, confirming the remark above. Almost half of the answering persons said that poverty can be a very important reason for the violation of the law (*Figure 2*). Unemployment, which is connected to the previous dimension in many aspects, is similarly an important factor for the answering persons. Thus, crimes, which are arising from deprivation, are those, which can be recognised the most by the members of the Hungarian society.

Figure 3: How significant is the role of certain social characteristics in the development of violation of laws (%)



Source: Own edition

Klára Kerezsi and her colleagues have proven last year that there is not necessarily a correlation between the ethnic composition of a settlement and the number of crimes (Kerezsi et. al. 2014). However, the connection between the ethnicity and certain types of crime was mentioned in some of the answers, as a consequence of the political skirmishes in the last years, which have influenced the public opinion. 72% of the questioned persons said that the ethnic composition of a community can be an important or a very important cause for the violation of the law.

It is interesting that no correlation could be found between the real ethnic composition of the settlement of the questioned and the distribution of the severity of the causes in the opinions. To the questions of the questionnaires the data about the ratio of the Roma ethnic group were assigned in the statistical series of the National Census 2011 and the correlation of these data with the opinions was analysed. In this regard no significant correlation could be found between a higher ratio of the Roma

population in a community and a higher rate of crime perception of the people in this community related to the ethnical composition. However, the above mentioned elements are considered as real relationships by the Hungarian population, which have to be considered definitely in the future.

It can be seen from this short review of the situation that the judgement of the crime situation and the assessment of the causes are influenced by a lot of factors. In the following the factors, which cause a fear of crime will be dealt with.

3. The theoretical model of the factors, which determine the fear of crime

The phenomenon of the fear of crime was invented by science in the 1960s and after this it became an area researched regularly and from more and more aspects (Lee, 2007). In the decades since then the literature of this topic became more and more interdisciplinary. It was researched, how the fear of crime influences everyday activities, how individual patterns of cautious behaviour develops, to what extent do people feel themselves safe in their home or in the street, which emotional reactions are caused by threat of fear in people and how the insecurity of the social situation or the deterioration of a living environment affects the feeling of safety of the people living there.

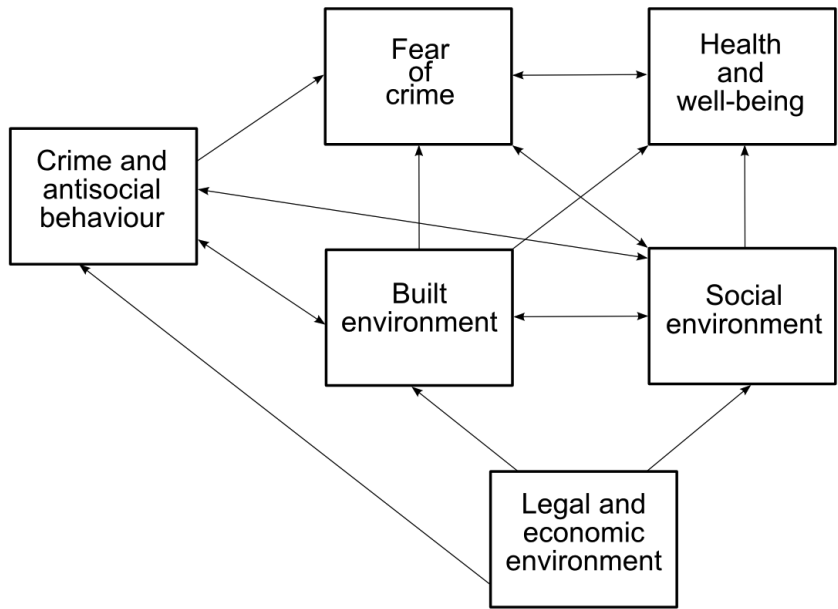
The effect of the fear of crime on individuals and communities has been shown. It was proven that it can damage the health conditions and physical functions of the individuals, it undermines the social cohesion and the trust, transforms the long run development of certain surroundings and areas, influences the independence of children. Furthermore, it strengthens and supports the more and more rigorous and punishment-centred criminal investigation and jurisdiction (Jackson, Kuha 2014).

The conceptual net used for understanding the problem reflects well, how each dimension, which was examined many times one by one, affects each other and affects the fear of crime directly or indirectly through another factor (Lorenc et al., 2012).

The model specifies 5 key factors, which shape and influence the extent of fear of crime and during this process they also affect each other. These key factors can also be divided into many subfactors. Subsequently, these subfactors will be presented because the goal of the analysis was the mea-

surability of the subfactors and the presentation of the relationships between them.

Figure 4: *The theoretical model of dimensions, which are related indirectly or directly to the fear of crime*



Source: Own edition according to Lorenc et. al., (2012)

3.1 The dimensions of the theoretical model

All individual and social behaviours belong to the category of crime and antisocial behaviours, which can be connected to crime and deviant behaviour patterns. According to the model, this factor has an immediate effect on the subjective feeling of safety. Because the individual can draw conclusions from previously experienced problems in his/her environment, family and acquaintances, from the information of victims and from his/her experiences, which later influence his/her perception about the extent of crime in his/her place of residence and this might have an immediate impact on the extent of his/her fear of crime. The previously widely spread thesis, according to which the personal experience as a victim influences solely and exclusively the subjective feeling of safety, has already been disproven in many researches and by today it is considered as

invalid. However, the presence of this factor should still be considered as one of many factors.

Related to the phenomena crime and antisocial behaviour in the society and fear of crime, a cognitive heuristic, which simplifies thinking, plays an important role. According to this heuristic, the individual estimates his/her chance of being a victim each time in that certain situation and he/she returns later to this schema to make the judgement of his/her situation easier. During this process he/she uses a factor as a cognitive anchor, groups the other acquired information to this factor and draws the essential consequences for him/her.

As a cognitive simplification strategy all measures of the decision maker, which simplify the decision process are called. There is a dispute about under which circumstances and with which efficiency can cognitive heuristics be used. However, the literature agrees that the heuristic decision making in most of the cases has better results, is faster and requires less resources (Tversky et al. 1974).

The factor of health and well-being includes physical and mental health, health conscious behaviour and well-being, which can be interpreted from a social aspect.

According to the model, the fear of crime and health are factors, which interact with each other and influence the extent and condition of each other fundamentally. Besides, both the built environment and the social environment influence the factor of health and well-being.

Crime can have direct and indirect effects on health and well-being. By direct effects such situations are understood, in which somebody suffers injury and pain because of a crime, in which he/she is the passive party, the victim. These are unambiguously the negative effects of violent crimes against his/her person. Furthermore, the crimes in the environment of the individual also affect the person indirectly, especially on the neighbourhood and living environment level.

The effect of the subjective feeling of safety on the mental and physical health can also be examined from many aspects. The effect of the anxiety caused by fear of crime on the mental health of the individual and the realisation of a process in the opposite direction, namely the effect of the weak mental condition on the developing fear, can be considered as parallel processes, acting side by side.

The fear of crime can activate such avoidance mechanisms, which can influence the movement of the individual outside of his/her home and

causing a negative impact on the social relationships and physical activity of the individual in the long run.

The built environment contains those dimensions of the physical environment, which were formed by humans. These are the spaces of everyday life. Some theories attach important roles also to some environmental effects. Belonging to these are the noise effects, noise pollution, traffic, deprived living environment, overcrowded living environment, which are characteristic for the living environment, be it inside or outside the home. Parallel to this, some additional factors have to be examined, such as the frequency of social interactions and the structure of the social relationships.

According to the chain of thought above, how the built environment affects the mental health of the individual can be determined, by influencing health conscious and health related behaviour of the individuals and by influencing crime, fear of crime and social environment.

The social environment conceptually contains the inequalities within the society, the net of social relationships, the spatial pattern of the social relationships (e.g. living environment, neighbourhood), which already forms a transition to the built environment and also includes overlapping with it.

The legal and economic environment influences, according to the theoretical model, the fear of crime intermediately only, but at the same time from many directions. This factor includes the political decisions in a broader sense, the trends, the guidelines of the legislation and the practice and orientation of the government and the jurisdiction.

The publication of crime statistics, the interpretation of cases and events highlighted in the media affect the fear of crime by infiltration, even unintentionally, in the risk assessment of the individual.

Two theoretical approaches deal with the effects of the social and economic environment. The social chaos theory emphasizes the effects of crimes in the narrow environment and the personally experienced anti-social behaviour, but the signs of vandalism, the deterioration of ownerless areas and the problems of the social environment also belong to this theory, for example the visible signs of drug trade. This orientation also even appears in conservative sociological theories as the broken windows theory (Wilson and Kelling 1982).

The social integration theory emphasizes the role of the local communities in the development of fear. It was observed that even the local, social relationships of a larger intensity can reduce the subjective feeling of

safety, because mention of crime is more often made in everyday conversation and there are more sources of information about disturbing events (Skogan, 1986).

3.2 Measurability of the dimensions of the theoretical model

Furthermore, an attempt was made to create the dimensions, which were described in the previous chapter, by aggregation of the variables from the questionnaires. As it could be seen above, all of the aspects of well-being, which were considered in this study, could be found among the elements, which were listed in the theoretical approach. That means that all of the dimensions of well-being, which were previously developed by the research team, could be integrated in the examination of the practical applicability of the theoretical model. Additionally to these dimensions, the integration of other dimensions was required. The development of these will be described now in more detail. The description of all dimensions and the variables, which ensure their measurability, are in *Table 2*.

The fact that fear of crime is a complex phenomenon, was previously referred to, which contains the conceptions, knowledge and previous experience of the individual, but, additionally to the beliefs, the real actions and feelings are parts of it as well. This duality is addressed by the cognitive and affective type of fear, where the cognitive side means the opinions about the public safety (the topic about opinions related to the change of public safety in the community of the questioned person, presented previously), and the affective side means the sensation of fear itself. For the affective side the fear of possible crimes is described in the living area or outdoor and the fear of possible indoor crimes in the own property of the questioned person. From these two variables the *aggregated fear index* by factor analysis was developed, which preserved 73.261% from the variance of the two variables and can be used as the general dimension of fear.

The summing up of the attitudes and experiences related to crime and other antisocial behaviours, in order to make the dimensions interpretable, was even more complicated. In this case, the number of situations in which the individual became an actual victim and conflict situations, which are caused by antisocial behaviour of others, are considered. The effect of the experienced victim role in their own private circles and among acquaintances can be considered as insignificant according to the literature. However, with its particular interpretation in this research the relationship above could be tested. The different quantity of *the experienced conflicts*

could be calculated by summing up the strength of each experienced conflict-types (scale values) and by standardization of the received variable. (It has turned out at the separate examination of each conflict, at comparison of the medians, that according to the Hungarian population the homelessness, the burglaries and the robberies are the largest problems in Hungary.)

The well-being indices, developed by the research team, are among the variables related to health and well-being, the built environment, the questions measuring the social environment and the social status. The detailed description of the development of these indices is not available here.

Table 4: The conceptualization and operationalization of fear of crime

Name of dimension	Elements of dimension	Variables used in the research
Fear of crime	cognitive	sz33e – Public safety. How has the condition of your community changed, in your opinion, in the recent past considering the following?
	affective	Aggregated fear index: sz24 – In your opinion how safe is it to walk in the neighbourhood of your living area after dark alone? sz25 – Are you afraid of criminals, if you are alone in your flat/house at night?
Crime and antisocial behaviour	actual committed crimes	sz24 – Have you been or any members of your household a victim of burglary or a violent assault in the last 5 years?
	experienced conflicts	Problem index from the starting points of wrongful acts in the community- Please states, how severe are the following problems in your living area and in the neighbourhood of your home? sz34a - homelessness sz34d - alcoholism sz34e – drug abuse sz24f - prostitution sz34g - national, ethnical conflicts sz34h – burglaries, robberies sz34i - violence, attempted manslaughter sz34j – economic crime sz34k – organized crime sz34l – violence within the family

Name of dimension	Elements of dimension	Variables used in the research
Health and well-being	mental condition	subjective index of well-being – according to Argyle (excluding work stress)
	subjective well-being	subjective index of well-being – according to Argyle (excluding work stress)
	health condition	eg_2 – variable health condition
Built environment	condition of public places and buildings	living_area_4 – Variable living area major component
	environmental stress	living_area_4 – Variable living area major component
Social environment	relationships, networks	sz50_count – How many different kinds of relationships do you have in your life?
	social status, income inequalities	well_being_4 – index of subjective well-being obj_2 – index of objective well-being
	neighbourhood factors	sz52r – How much do you trust your neighbours?
	social capital, social cohesion	sz48_count – In how many life areas can you rely only on yourself?
	ethnic discrimination	This dimension cannot be measured in this form. Ratio of Roma population in the community.
Legal and economic environment		This dimension from the side of the individual cannot be measured in this case.

Source: Own edition

Among the various elements of the social environment dimension, in the variable sets, which influence the extent of social capital, can be looked into. On the one hand, this can be obtained by counting the various types of relationships and on the other hand by the presentation of the aspect of loneliness (in how many areas of life can the answering person count on himself/herself only). In connection to this is the measurement of the relationships with the neighbourhood.

The ethnic discrimination could not be measured in this case because most of the questions were about, whether there is a problem of such kind in that given community, and not about conflicts related to the ethnic background of the questioned person. Similarly, the functioning of the legal and economic environment was not presented because these appear also in the theoretical model indirectly, as external effects.

4. Analysis of factors, which determine the fear of crime according to the results of the survey

First, the relations of each variable to each other have been examined. According to the correlations between the variables previously presented, summarized in *Table 3*, a number of observations can be made.

The attitudes related to the crime itself cannot be necessarily treated together in a complex index of fear, since it can be seen that each element relates to the other differently or not at all. Where significant relationships can be shown, those elements do not show a strong but rather a weak correlation. For example, the cognitive element of fear of crime shows a correlation only to the variable experienced conflicts and it has no significant correlation to the two other variables in connection to crime. There is a correlation between the judgement of the crime rate in the community and the perception of conflicts, which leads to crime in some cases (X_1 and X_4 in the table).

When further analysing the variables regarding crime, considering correlation pairwise, the variable describing the actual fear of crime, which describes the affective side of fear (marked with X_2 in the table) is the one, which correlates, with the exception of the cognitive dimension, with the other two dimensions. Moreover, the correlation coefficients are the highest here in the whole segment. Although according to the literature the effects of real experiences regarding the shaping of fear of crime are negligible, the results here are different. The highest correlation (0.271) for the variables in relation to crime is measured between the actual events and the affective side of crime. However, only a weak or no correlation can be found to the other variables, which influence the fear of crime indirectly or directly.

It is useful to return to the affective side of the fear of crime, since most of the international researches use this in the presentation of this topic and this index has proven as the variable expressing fear with the strongest and most correlations from the four approaches used in connection with crime in this study. The correlation is the strongest to the subjective well-being (0.282) and the built environment of the residence (0.283) of the questioned person. Both variables mentioned here have a strong correlation to their variables, which describe the social environment and aggregate the income inequalities, which show their effects on the fear of crime with high probability indirectly, through these variables.

Table 5: Correlation of dimensions, which influence the fear of crime (Pearson-correlations)

	X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄	X ₅	X ₆	X ₇	X ₈	X ₉	X ₁₀	X ₁₁	X ₁₂
Fear of crime – cognitive (X₁)	1			.136**	.064**		.130**		.063**			
Fear of crime - affective (X₂)		1	.271**	-.252**	.282**	.190**	.283**	.150**	.141**	.101**		
Crime – actual event (X₃)			1	-.069*	.055*	.054*						
Crimes – experienced conflicts (X₄)				1	-.177**		-.123**		-.068*		-.072**	
Health and well-being – mental condition, subjective well-being (X₅)					1	.293**	.462**	.159**	.767**	.396**	.113**	-.094**
Health and well-being – health condition (X₆)						1	.090**	.389**	.316**	.365**		
Built environment – condition of environment, environmental stress (X₇)							1	.070**	.401**	.248**	.057**	-.023
Social environment – relationships (X₈)								1	.199**	.364**	-.044*	-.100**

Social environment – income inequalities (subjective) (X_9)									1	.369**	.074**	-.117**
Social environment – social status (objective) (X_{10})										1	.009	-.094**
Social environment – neighbourhood (X_{11})											1	-.038
Social environment – social capital (X_{12})												1

** Correlation is significant 0.01

* Correlation is significant 0.05

Source: Own edition

Subsequently an attempt will be made to develop a model, similar to that in the theoretical literature, with a multiple regression path model. If all previously listed variables are listed in a regression model, it turns out that neither the cognitive side of crime nor the questions of social environment about neighbourhood and social capital influence the extent of affective fear in this model. The regression, executed with the remaining variables, explained 25% of the variance of the affective fear, that means that in the path model also a 75% other/external effect had to be considered.

In this model fear is affected the most by the subjective well-being (measured by psychological methods), that is, the fear as a mental factor is influenced the most by other mental factors (beta=0.358). This is followed by the financial side of the subjective well-being, that is, the effect of the differences arising from income inequalities, which has a reversed effect on the analysed fear, which means the more wealthy somebody feels him-/herself and the higher somebody places him-/herself on the social ladder, the less he/she fears (beta=0.271) (Table 4).

Table 6: Regression coefficients of the dimensions, which determine the affective element of the fear of crime ($R^2=0.255$)

	Beta	t	Sig.
Constant		-10.375	.000
Crimes – actual event (X3)	.244	10.340	.000
Crime - experienced conflicts (X4)	-.161	-6.643	.000
Health and well-being – mental condition, subjective well-being (X5)	.358	8.318	.000
Health and well-being – health condition (X6)	.091	3.379	.001
Built environment – condition of environment, environmental stress (X7)	.208	7.674	.000
Social environment – relationships (X8)	.088	3.375	.001
Social environment – income inequalities (subjective) (X9)	-.271	-6.907	.000
Social environment – social status (objective) (X10)	-.090	-3.229	.001

Source: Own edition

Fear is significantly influenced by the awareness of actual crimes, that is by their own information or the information from others about becoming a victim ($\beta=0.244$), that is in this case the consensus in the literature has to be modified a little. The previously experienced events here have a visible effect on the fear. After this comes the relation to the built environment and to the living area, which affects the fear inversely, similarly to the income inequalities. Therefore, the higher the questioned person assesses his/her environment, the less stress he/she has in everyday life and the less fear is induced in his/her weekdays.

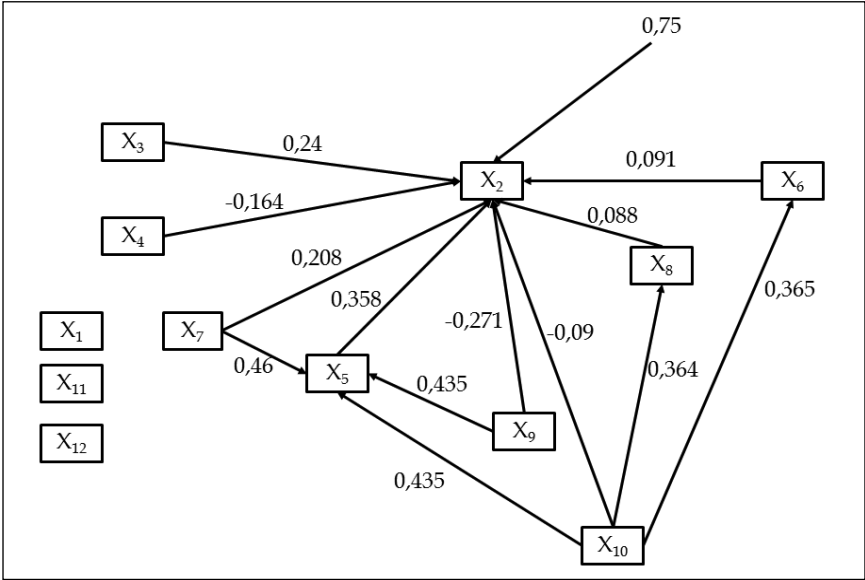
On the other side are those variables, whose effect is insignificant and negligible. These affect the development of fear rather indirectly with a high probability. Among these are the health condition, the social relationships and the social status of the questioned person. Also the latter affects fear reversely, that is the higher the educational level and the income of a person is, the less the probability that fear of crime will develop in him/her.

Another issue, which was not yet mentioned, is the effects of events, which can be experienced or are experienced in the community and will not necessarily be transformed into crimes. The effects of experienced conflicts can be considered, compared to the other variables as medium and will be integrated in this model inversely ($\beta=-0.161$). That means that those, who are aware of the other conflicts in their environment can probably better judge the social environment of their residential area, from

which they can draw a more accurate picture about the contamination of this area with crime, thus their fear can be reduced.

With the execution of further regressions, the path model, which determines the affective element of fear of crime, will be created (Figure 4). It appears from this model that the objective well-being and the social status (X_{10}) affect fear indirectly because they determine both subjective mental well-being (X_5) and the health condition of the individual (X_6) and the number of relationships in the environment of the individual (X_8). As the most important factor was the dimension, which showed the mental condition (X_5), because this has the largest direct effect and furthermore this indirectly forwards the effects most of the dimensions towards the analysed dimension of fear.

Figure 5: Path model of dimensions, which determine the fear of crime



Source: Own edition

The following dimensions were left out from the path model: description of the cognitive side of crime (X_1), role of neighbourhood and the relationship with the neighbourhood (X_{11}) and the effect of the social capital (X_{12}). These dimensions do not even have an indirect effect on the analysed dimensions. Thus, it can be stated that one part of the dimensions, which are described in the theoretical model are not suitable, if the goal is to

support the relationships with empirical methods, and only a part of the elements of the dimension are in interaction with the development and extent of fear.

5. Further possibilities in the research of this topic

It was shown in this research that fear of crime is a complex phenomenon, which development is impacted by various elements and which have to be analysed separately. The researcher is in a difficult situation, since there is word about a very subjective phenomenon. It was seen that there are large differences between the reality of the settlement of the answering persons and its interpretation. Two thirds of the Hungarian population cannot accurately assess how large the risk of the phenomenon crime can be in their residential area. The smaller communities usually perceive their situation worse, whereas the inhabitants of larger communities are more positive than in reality.

However, it became clear during the research that a difference has to be made between the aggregated data of the settlement units or the larger spatial units and the data on the level of the living environment. This is the level, where most of the questioned persons can make a value judgement, which can be true or false but can still be considered as a real one, about the crime situation of the environment and he/she can assess, whether his/her fear has a real basis. On this level the mental side and the impressions from the immediate residential environment are those, which determine the beliefs/feelings of the population the most. However, behind these immediate effects, the effect of the differences is also there, which arises from the social status. It has turned out, interestingly, that fear is not larger there, where the problem can be the loss of accumulated property values and the elements ensuring objective well-being, but fear is more characteristic for people with a lower social status.

It could not be proven that being a victim has no effect on fear, since this factor also has a significant impact, in this model.

Possible direction of further researches can map the perception of residential area and the relationship systems, related to it, better; because the effect of the residential area appeared to be one of the most important factors.

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